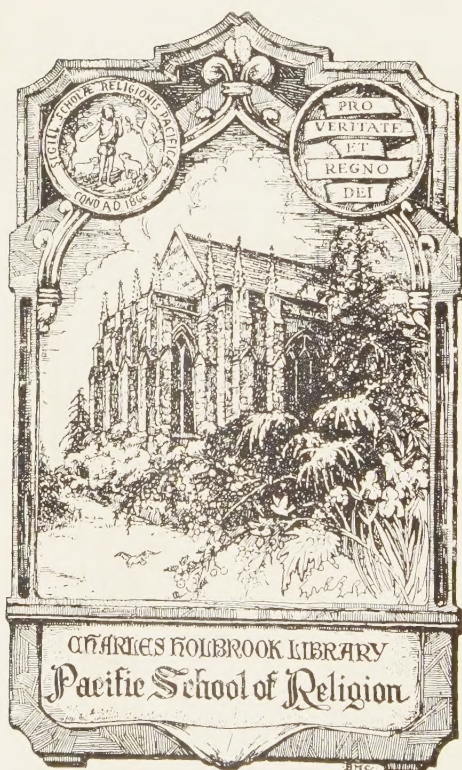
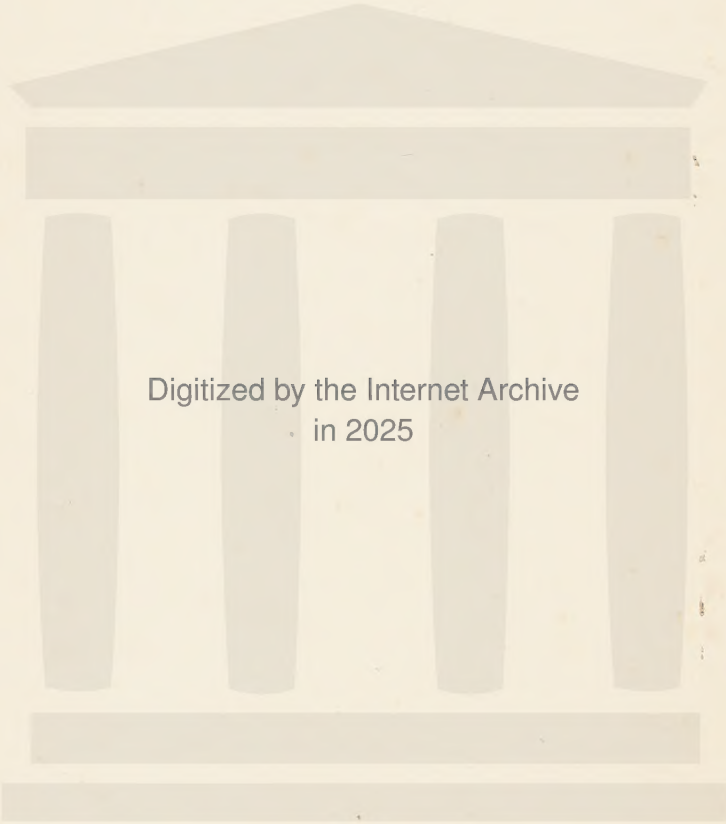




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RABBI ISAAC KARIGAL

PUBLICATIONS
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AMERICAN
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NUMBER 10



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AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ORGANIZED AT NEW YORK, JUNE 7, 1892.

LIST OF OFFICERS.

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DR. CYRUS ADLER.

Vice-Presidents :

HON. SIMON W. ROSENDALE,
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PROF. CHARLES GROSS.

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All communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary, DR. HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, 915 N. 16th St., Phila., Pa., U. S. A.

OBJECTS.

The object of this Society is to collect and publish material bearing upon the history of America. It is known that Jews in Spain and Portugal lent no inconsiderable aid to the voyages that led to the discovery of America, that a few accompanied the earliest discoverers, and that Jews were among the first settlers on this continent, and in its adjacent islands. Considerable numbers saw service in the Colonial and Revolutionary wars, some of them with great distinction. Others contributed liberally to the Continental treasury, at critical periods, to aid in the establishment of Independence. Since the foundation of our government Jews have played an active part in the political affairs of the country, and have been called upon to hold important public positions. The records of the achievements of these men will, when gathered together, prove of value and interest to the historian, and perchance cast light upon some obscure parts of the history of our country.

The purposes for which this Society was organized are not sectarian but American. The co-operation of students of history and of all persons interested in the work of this Society is cordially invited.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

The Tenth Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society was held in the Vestry Rooms of the Temple Emanu-El, in the City of New York, on Thursday, January 30th, 1902. The meeting was called to order by the President, Dr. Cyrus Adler.

The minutes of the last meeting were adopted as printed in the last *Publication* of the Society.

The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, reported that the original roll of membership of the Society contained a total of 184 names. On January 30, 1902, the number had increased to 260, as follows: Honorary, 7; corresponding, 26; life, 4, and active, 223. Since that date, 9 additional active members have been elected.

The Society lost three members by death: the lamented Prof. Herbert B. Adams, the first corresponding member elected, a fitting action on the part of the Society, in that he took an interest in the formation of the Society some years before it was established; Hon. Joseph Blumenthal, of New York, and David Hays, of Rochester, N. Y. Two members resigned during the year 1901. One *Publication*, No. 9, was issued and distributed to the members.

On motion the report was accepted, and it was directed that an abstract thereof be printed in the next volume of the *Publications*. A letter from Hon. Andrew D. White, concerning Volume IX of the Society's *Publications*, which had been sent to him as one of the Society's Honorary Members, was read. It was as follows:

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
BERLIN, November 13, 1901.

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, ESQ., *Philadelphia*:

My Dear Sir:

Accept my hearty thanks for the copy of No. 9 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, which, returning from America this morning, I find on my table.

A rapid glance through the various articles shows much that interests me deeply, and at my first leisure I expect to give the book a careful reading.

I was very glad to see the tribute paid to my dear old friends, Judge Daly and Professor Tyler, as well as the appreciative notice of the father of my very talented friend, Mr. Ezekiel, the sculptor.

Especially interesting, and a most important subject in American history, is that developing the relation of the Jews to the American anti-slavery movement, and I shall call the attention of our library authorities at Ithaca to it, in view of the fact that we have so large a collection of books and other material on the subject of the anti-slavery effort. From your own article, too, I expect to derive especial profit and pleasure.

With renewed thanks, I remain,

Very respectfully yours, (Signed)

ANDREW D. WHITE.

The Treasurer, Prof. Richard H. Gottheil, presented the following report :

Richard Gottheil, Treasurer, in account with the American Jewish Historical Society, October 1, 1901.

DR.

To Balance, Knickerbocker Trust Company,	
October 1, 1900.....	\$1,214.34
Dues and back dues from members.....	881.35
Returned on overpaid bill.....	0.70
Gift from Mr. Andrew Green.....	25.00
Sale of <i>Publications</i> through American Jewish	
Publication Society.....	52.20
Interest Knickerbocker Trust Company to	
December 31, 1900... ..	7.94
Interest Knickerbocker Trust Company to	
June 30, 1901.....	12.97
Interest Knickerbocker Trust Company to	
September 26, 1901.....	6.75
Total receipts.....	\$2,201.25
Total expenditures.....	254.69
Balance, Knickerbocker Trust Company.....	\$1,926.14
Cash in hands of Treasurer.....	20.42
Total balance.....	\$1,946.56

CR.

Miscellaneous printing.....	\$ 13.96
Office expenses, clerk hire and postage.....	116.28
Stationery	46.65
Romeike, press clippings.....	5.00
Expenses of meeting in Philadelphia.....	14.00
Translation	8.50
Copying of MS.....	2.00
Index to Volume VIII.....	20.18
Insurance	27.00
Collection on out-of-town checks.....	1.12
Total	\$254.69

STATEMENT OF THE ASSETS OF THE SOCIETY, OCTOBER 1, 1901.

Balance in the Knickerbocker Trust Company...	\$1,926.14
Cash in hands of Treasurer.....	20.42
Former deposit in Albany Savings Bank	1,234.18
Present deposit in Albany Savings Bank.....	1,277.75

The report was received, and on motion referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Lee Kohns, Esq., and Rev. R. A. Benjamin, M. A.

A Nominating Committee was appointed, consisting of Charles J. Cohen, Esq., Rev. A. Blum and A. S. Freidus, Esq., who reported in favor of the re-election of all the officers, and on motion the Secretary was directed to cast one vote in their favor.

The election of the following officers was accordingly announced: President, Dr. Cyrus Adler; Vice-Presidents, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Mendes Cohen, Esq., Rev. Dr. B. Felsenthal, Prof. Charles Gross; Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald; Recording Secretary, Max J. Kohler, Esq.; Treasurer, Prof. Richard H. Gottheil; Additional Members of the Executive Council, Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, Hon. Simon Wolf, John Samuel, Esq.; Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Rev. Henry Cohen, Prof. Morris Loeb, Prof. J. H. Hollander. Hon. Oscar S. Straus is an ex officio member, as ex-President of the Society.

It was announced that a Publication Committee for the ensuing year had been appointed, to consist of Prof. J. H. Hollander (chairman), Dr. A. Friedenwald and Mendes Cohen, Esq.

Obituaries of deceased members—Prof. Herbert B. Adams, Hon. Joseph Blumenthal and Mr. David Hays—were presented.

On motion, a vote of thanks was extended to the officers of the Temple Emanu-El for the use of their rooms.

The following papers were presented :

I. *Jewish Activity in Early American Commerce*, by Max J. Kohler, Esq., New York.

II. *A Note on Jewish Names in the Maryland Muster Rolls, 1775–1783*, by Prof. J. H. Hollander, Baltimore.

III. *Memoir of the Rev. Abraham Pereira Mendes*, by Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, New York.

IV. *References to Jews in the Diary of Ezra Stiles*, by Prof. Morris Jastrow, Jr., Philadelphia.

V. *Solomon Heydenfeldt: a Jewish Jurist of Alabama and California*, by Albert M. Friedenberg, Esq., New York.

VI. *The Damascus Affair and the Jews of America*, by Joseph Jacobs, Esq., New York.

VII. *Letters from Col. David S. Franks*, by Oscar S. Straus, Esq., New York.

VIII. *Passages from the Diary of Robert Morris*, by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Philadelphia.

IX. *Sampson Simson*, by M. S. Isaacs, Esq., New York.

X. *The Jews of Georgia During the American Revolution*, by Leon Hühner, Esq., New York.

XI. *President's Address*, by Dr. Cyrus Adler.

XII. *A Method of Determining the Jewish Population of Large Cities in the United States*, by Dr. George E. Barnett, Baltimore.

XIII. *Major Mordecai Myers and Some Glimpses of New York, 1780-1820*, by Henry Necarsulmer, Esq., New York.

XIV. *A Sketch of the History of the Jews of Chicago*, by H. Eliassof, Esq., Chicago.

XV. *Isaac Pinto*, by Leon Hühner.

XVI. *The Cincinnati Community in 1825*, by Rev. Dr. David Philipson, Cincinnati.

XVII. *Elements of the Jewish Population of the United States*, by Miss Henrietta Szold, Baltimore.

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ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT,

DR. CYRUS ADLER.

To the Members and Friends of the American Jewish Historical Society:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

It is a pleasure to be enabled to greet so many of you upon the occasion of the tenth meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society. Organized in this city in 1892 for the double purpose of gathering the materials which would enable the student of American history to understand the relation of the Jews to the settlement and progress of the American Continent, and the student of Jewish history to write a new chapter in the never-ending history of the Jews, the Society has steadily pursued the policy of collecting and publishing authentic material.

It has not been deemed the province of the Society to write history, but rather to make the writing of history possible.

To this end printed and manuscript sources in national and state libraries in the United States, in the West India Islands and even in England, and to a very limited extent on the continent of Europe, have been examined and, as far as they were deemed important, made accessible in printed form—the ninth volume of our Publications having been issued during the past year. In these nine volumes no less than 99 papers have been published written by 39 separate authors, indicating that about one-fifth of our membership has been actively engaged in historical study.

Of the other method used by societies with aims kindred to our own to foster their purposes—I mean the securing

of manuscripts, books and objects of historical interest—I have a less satisfactory statement to make.

Our Society possesses a few manuscripts, a few rare books, and a very few portraits and historical objects, but we are without a custodian and without a home. Your governing body has steadily adhered to the opinion that the seat of this Society should be in the City of New York, but thus far the necessary arrangements have not been completed. I trust that the day may not be far distant when a suitable place will be found in this city.

Many of you will recall the eloquent plea made by Mr. Joseph Jacobs at our last annual meeting for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition. The Society at that meeting authorized the appointment of a special committee which after due deliberation made a report to the Council favorable to the holding of such an exhibition. Committees were appointed and promises of co-operation secured from nearly all of the National Jewish Organizations in this country. After mature consideration it has been decided to hold this exhibition about one year from the present time. The past year has been one of exceptional activity in Jewish affairs in the United States, and as the field is a large one and the workers few, it was deemed advisable to avoid even the appearance of conflict with important projects which had been initiated prior to the suggestion of the Exhibition. I look forward to the realization of this plan in the near future, and to many useful results which will inevitably flow therefrom.

This being the tenth meeting of the Society and subjects for a presidential address being always difficult to find it had occurred to me that it might be suitable to-night to review our first ten years work, but the idea however tempting was put aside. As a Society we are too young to engage in retrospection—we must be looking to the future and taking counsel as to how we may best promote the objects for which we banded together.

I notice a disposition on the part of some scientifically trained students who might fairly be expected to take an interest in our work to hold aloof, and, have heard the criticism expressed that a body such as ours is in danger of exaggerating the importance of the Jews both as historical and economic factors on the American continent. Yet nothing could be further from the truth. As I have said on another occasion, we have neither personal, partisan nor professional ends, and are devoted solely to ascertaining and making known whatever there may be of seeming importance or interest concerning the migration and settlement, the life and the development, the growth of religious and communal institutions, and the relations to the general community and to science, literature and art, the learned professions, industry and commerce of the Jews who have settled upon this great continent.

To this end we have done something—much is yet to be done. Our national archives have been examined by a conscientious student but it can hardly be expected that they yielded up all their treasures. The same to even a greater degree is true of our state archives. I am convinced that the state archives and the state historical societies not only of those which have sprung from the thirteen original colonies, but of the very much larger number formed since, contain material of importance to our work. Each one of these should be taken up methodically, should be worked up carefully and reported upon soberly. I fully realize the interest attaching to the West Indies, to Central and South America, and have myself yielded to their fascination, yet I must emphasize the fact that our foremost duty is to the territory of the United States. When the history of the Jews in every state of the Union is fully known, then and only then can we afford to throw our strength elsewhere.

The life of American Jewry—indeed of Jewry everywhere in its dispersion—is so intimately bound up with the origin and growth of its religious and communal organizations that

an increasing amount of work should be done in this direction. We will always welcome brief, accurate statements compiled from original records of the origin and growth of all such institutions.

This is an historical society preëminently yet we are glad to receive studies in the field of economic and statistical science. So much of political history, so much of institutional history, so much of the history of the people is bound up with economic sciences that we would not separate them if we could and in our own small body of scholars such a course would be especially unwise. That we have not followed such a policy is evidenced by the papers of economic interest which have from time to time been read at our meetings and later found a place in our publications.

And yet I cannot but feel that political history in the sense of the relation of the Jews to the origin and founding of this Republic whether through the formation of its political ideals, the maintenance of its cause upon the field of battle, the making of its laws in the halls of legislation, their carrying into effect by executive officers and the maintenance of pleasant and useful relations with the community of nations through diplomatic and consular officials to be the principal work of this society and these aims I heartily commend to the members and to such as by similarity of interest may in the future join our ranks.

REFERENCES TO JEWS IN THE DIARY OF EZRA STILES.¹

BY PROFESSOR MORRIS JASTROW, JR., *University of Pennsylvania.*

Ezra Stiles, born December 10, 1727, at North Haven, Conn., was the fifth president of Yale College, who presided over the fortunes of that institution from 1778,² until his death on May 12, 1795, at the age of 67. Previous to his election to the presidency of Yale, he had been for almost 23 years pastor of the Second Congregational Church at Newport, having been installed there October 22, 1765. At the time not quite 28 years old he had already served a long apprenticeship before entering upon the serious part of his career. After his graduation at Yale in 1746 he continued his studies at New Haven until 1750, accepting during the last year of his stay a tutorship in the college. Licensed to preach on the 30th of May, 1749, he began some mission work among the Indians in 1750, which however, he was obliged to abandon in 1752 on account of ill health, and took up the study of law. In 1753 he took the attorney's oath and practiced until 1755 when he returned to the ministry by accepting a position at Newport.

This long and varied preparation is no doubt a factor in accounting for the unusually wide range of Dr. Stiles' interests as illustrated by his diary, and for a breadth of sentiment, notwithstanding the most pronounced religious convictions, that is in striking contrast, not indeed to the age in which he lived, but to the prevailing narrowness of the

¹ *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, President of Yale College. Edited under the authority of the Corporation of Yale University, by Franklin Bowditch Dexter. 3 vols. N. Y., 1901.

² Installed July 8th, though his duties began June 23d.

circles in which he moved. As a consequence, his literary diary touches upon every conceivable topic; there is nothing which does not interest him from the town gossip to the latest researches in astronomy. He goes to infinite trouble in drawing up lists of parishioners and of his towns people; he furnishes drafts of long letters to his various correspondents; is interested in the minutest details of revolutionary affairs; gives extracts of countless sermons that he delivers or hears, besides noting with painstaking accuracy his thoughts, plans and projects. We can follow his readings and studies from day to day and year to year, while no item seems to be too unimportant in connection with his duties as minister or as President of Yale not to be noted at length in this truly remarkable and most fascinating diary.

Dr. Stiles' association with Jews and his keen interest in the Jews as a people have been several times referred to in papers read before this Society. Mr. George Kohut in a paper on "Early Jewish Literature in America,"¹ furnishes several lengthy extracts from Hannah Adams' *History of the Jews* (London, 1818) setting forth chiefly Ezra Stiles relations with Haym Isaac Karigal,² a native of Hebron, who in the extent and variety of his peregrinations might serve as a type of the genuine "wandering Jew"—a species of religious 'tramp' not uncommon in those days. The relations between Stiles and Karigal are again referred to by Mr. Max J. Kohler in his valuable paper on "The Jews of Newport,"³ and thirdly, the Rev. W. Willner devoted an entire article to Ezra Stiles and the Jews,⁴ in which a number of extracts from the unpublished papers of Ezra Stiles are furnished, though in a rather disconnected manner. The recent publication of the Diary of Ezra Stiles by the Yale Corporation makes it possible to gather a far clearer and more satisfactory view of Dr. Stiles' relations to Jews than heretofore. This diary be-

¹ *Publications* No. 3, pp. 122-125.

² See below, pp. 22-32.

³ *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 78-79.

⁴ *Pub.* No. 8, pp. 119-126.

queathed by Dr. Stiles to his successor in office represents only a portion of the Stiles papers at Yale University; there are in addition six volumes of an *Itinerary*, covering the years 1760 to 1795, besides thirteen bound volumes of correspondence and several hundred unbound letters; to these must be added a volume of manuscript notes of a miscellaneous character and statistics for an ecclesiastical History of New England, begun by him in 1769.¹ We are not, therefore, certain of having all the material in these papers bearing on the Jews,² but the items in the published diary no doubt represent the bulk of such material and presumably also the most important portion of it.

One is struck at once upon taking up the Diary by the large number of references to Jews and to Jewish affairs, although they are almost all confined to the period of his residence at Newport. The Diary begins on January 1, 1769, and extends to within a few days of Stiles' death. The first entry about the Jews occurs as early as March 16, 1769, which day, he tells us, he spent mostly with the "Jew priest," Isaac de Abraham Touro,³ in a discussion on biblical prophecies. From that time until the outbreak of the Revolution, which, when it began, absorbed almost all his thoughts, scarcely a month passes without some entry referring either to conversations or to correspondence with Jews, or to discussions on religious questions with them, or to items of interest regarding Jews. Before the Revolution

¹ The History itself (or a portion of it), in manuscript is now the property of the Mass. Hist. Soc. I beg to express my acknowledgment to Prof. F. B. Dexter, who has kindly given me some information as to the unpublished sections of Stiles' papers; he also informs me that he hopes to publish ere long another volume of selections from these papers.

² Willner, in his article referred to (*Pub.* No. 8), gives some extracts from the Stiles' papers which are not found in Dexter's publication.

³ In the Diary, as published, the name is often given as Tauro, but this is perhaps an editorial slip. Instead of Isaac de Abraham, Stiles sometimes writes Abraham de Isaac.

came to an end, Stiles had removed to New Haven, and in his new surroundings his intercourse with Jews ceased. New Haven contained very few Jewish citizens at that time, and while his interest in the Jews continued, he finds but few occasions to refer to them, though there is a Jewish reference as late as March 1, 1795 (vol. III, p. 556).

I.

Taking up first the references of a general character, we have an interesting list of the Jews of Newport, drawn up by Stiles in 1760. The list (vol. I, p. 11) reads as follows :

2 Harts	4 souls.	Isaac Elizur ⁵	2 souls.
Moses Levy ¹ & Brother,	7 "	old Polloc ⁶	6 "
— Sarsides ²	6 "	Issachar Polloc ⁷	1 "
Aaron Lopez ³	7 "	— Polloc, junior ⁸	2 "
Moses Lopez	11 "	Rod. Levarez ⁹	5 "
Jacob Isaacs ⁴	5 "	— Hart ¹⁰	2 "
		— Lucina ¹¹	- "

¹ For Moses Levy see Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6., p. 76, and Phillips, *Pub.* No. 4, pp. 212-213; also Mendes *R. I. Hist. Mag.* VI, p. 94.

² Sarsadas is intended for Seixas. Probably Isaac Mendes Seixas (d. Nov. 3, 1780) is meant. See Kohler, *ib.*, and also Phillips, *Pub.* No. 4, p. 202, where the date 1765 must be a slip for 1745 or 1746 (cf. p. 209).

³ For Aaron Lopez see Kohler: *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 70-75; No. 4, p. 88, and No. 2, pp. 101-106.

⁴ Jacob Isaacs is identical with the subject of Friedenwald's article, *Pub.* No. 2, pp. 111-117; See Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 77-78, and Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*, p. 61.

⁵ Elizur is an error for Elizar (See Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 71), and Peterson, *ib.*, p. 59.

⁶ Perhaps Isaac Polak, who died May 23, 1764. (Mendes, *ib.* p. 87.)

⁷ See Peterson, *ib.*

⁸ Perhaps Cullom Polloc. Peterson, *ib.*

⁹ Rod. Levarez is probably intended for Rodriguez Alvarez. Moses Alvarez is mentioned by Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 76. See also Hollander, *Pub.* No. 5, p. 113, and Mendes, *ib.*, p. 88.

¹⁰ One of the Harts is probably intended for Solomon Hart (Kohler *Pub.* No. 6, p. 70).

¹¹ See Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*, p. 53.

The total number, according to Dr. Stiles, is at least fifty-eight, but he adds in a note "Moses Levy reckons 56 souls of Jews Mar. 2nd, 1761, and 10 Families."

Among Stiles' papers there is preserved a draft of a letter to the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Lardner of London, dated June 20, 1764, and from it we learn that in that year there were fifteen or twenty families of Jews in Newport. The extract reads as follows (vol. I, page 11): "We have 15 or 20 Families of Jews here, almost the only ones in New England (& perhaps there are not so many more on this Continent). They have erected a small Synagogue in New York; and another at Newport met in for the first time in December last; it is superbly finished withinside at a Cost of £2,000 sterling; in the place of the Ark they have deposited Three Vellum Copies, Rolls of the Law, one of which is said to be above Two hundred years old, which I judge true from the Aspect & Rabbinical Flourishes. They have a Chuzzan from Amsterdam."

Dr. Stiles was present at the dedication of the Synagogue at Newport on December 2, 1763, and among his papers there is an elaborate description of the services on that occasion as well as of the building.

"December 2, 1763, Friday. In the Afternoon was the dedication of the new Synagogue in this Town. It began by a handsome procession in which were carried the Books of the Law, to be deposited in the Ark. Several Portions of Scripture, & of their Service with a Prayer for the Royal Family, were read and finely sung by the priests & People. There were present many Gentlemen & Ladies. The Order and Decorum, the Harmony & Solemnity of the Musick, together with a handsome Assembly of People, in a Edifice the most perfect of the Temple kind perhaps in America, & splendidly illuminated, could not but raise in the Mind a faint Idea of the Majesty & Grandeur of the Ancient Jewish Worship mentioned in Scripture.

"Dr. Isaac de Abraham Touro performed the Service.

The Synagogue is about perhaps forty foot long & 30 wide, of Brick on a Foundation of free Stone: it was begun about two years ago, & is now finished except the Porch & the Capitals of the Pillars. The Front representation of the holy of holies or its Partition Veil, consists only of wainscotted Breast Work on the East End, in the lower part of which four long Doors cover an upright Square Closet the depth of which is about a foot or the thickness of the Wall, & in this Apartment (vulgarly called the Ark) were deposited three Copies & Rolls of the Pentateuch, written on Vellum or rather tanned Calf Skin; one of these Rolls I was told by Dr. Touro was presented from Amsterdam & is Two Hundred years old; the Letters have the Rabbinical Flourishes.

"A Gallery for the Women runs round the whole Inside, except the East End supported by Columns of Ionic order, over which are placed correspondent Columns of the Corinthian order supporting the Cieling of the Roof. The Depth of the Corinthian Pedestal is the height of the Balustrade which runs round the Gallery. The Pulpit for Reading the Law, is a raised Pew with an extended front table; this placed about the center of the Synagogue or nearer the West End, being a Square embalustraded Comporting with the Length of the indented Chancel before & at the Foot of the Ark.

"On the middle of the North Side & affixed to the Wall is a raised Seat for the Parnas or Ruler, & for the Elders; the Breast and Back interlaid with Chinese Mosaic Work. A Wainscotted Seat runs round the Sides of the Synagogue below, & another in the Gallery. There are no other Seats or pews. There may be Eighty Souls of Jews or 15 families now in Town. The Synagogue has already cost Fifteen Hundred Pounds Sterling. There are to be five Lamps pendant from a lofty Ceiling."¹ (Vol. I, p. 6, note.)

¹ The lamps were subsequently imported and bear inscriptions in Hebrew. The synagogue, it will be recalled, was built in 1762-1763

From this account it would appear that the number of Jews had increased from 56 in 1761 to 80 in 1763. In view of this small number one is disposed to raise the question what became of the 15 families who according to Petersen¹ and to Fishell's Chronological notes of the History of the Jews in America² settled there in 1658. It is to be noted that only a very few of the family names of these supposed earliest settlers as furnished by N. H. Gould of Newport³ are to be found in Stiles' list.⁴ If therefore, the statement as to the settlement in 1658 is correct, it would appear that either all these families died out, which is unlikely, or that they subsequently left Newport. From another entry in the Diary May 19th, 1769 (vol. 1, p. 11) it appears that the number had increased in five years to "about 25 families."

Dr. Stiles was a frequent visitor to the Synagogue and evidently kept himself informed of the special occasions—festivals—when he might learn something of the Jewish ceremonial. So we find him attending the services at the feast of Purim and listening to the reading of the Book of Esther (vol. I p. 97) and again on the eve of Passover, (Mar. 29, 1771) while of the services that took place on the day of Passover, he gives the following account which contains some items of interest.⁵

"Mar. 30-1771 Went to the Synagogue, it being PASS-

by Peetr Harrison and stood in the immediate neighborhood of Dr. Stiles' house. For a collection of the more important references to this synagogue see Kohler's note, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 78.

¹ *History of R. I.*, p. 101.

² *Hist. Mag.* Series I, vol. IV, p. 52-53; See *Pub.* No. 2 p. 99.

³ *Daly's Jews of North America*, p. 78.

⁴ Isaac Isaacs, Moses Isaacs (Gould); Jacob Isaacs (Stiles). If Elizur (Stiles) is the same as Eleazar (Gould) then we would have a second name common to the two lists. In a list drawn up by Stiles in 1762 of owners of vessels in Newport and published by Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, p. 124), but not included in the published Diary a M^r Meyers is referred to and since the name likewise occurs in Gould's list, this would make a third name.

⁵ Vol. I, pp. 97-98.

OVER. They read from two Vellum Copies or Rolls of the Law in the Forenoon. In the Afternoon they began by reading a Portion out of *Solomons Song*. This was new to me. I knew not before that the Canticles were ever publicly read in the Synagogue & least of all that it was a usage at the Passover. They shewed me a Copy of the Canticles with a Spanish Translation : & also subjoyned was a spanish Translation of the Chaldee Targum on the Canticles."

He went to the Synagogue again on September 14th, 1771 and also on the last day of the Feast of Tabernacles, September 30th, 1771 and in an account of a visit on April 18th, 1772 he speaks of the offerings made on that occasion by the members of the congregation.¹

"April 18-1772. I went to the Synagogue, it being שבת פסח Sabbath of the Passover. They read in the *Law* the passages which give an Account of the Exodus and Institution of the passover ; and also a passage about Vth of Joshua concerning Circumcision and rolling away the Reproach of Egypt. Several mentioned over the Names of their dead friends, for whom Prayers were immediately made. Large offerings or Alms were made to probably forty dollars as one of the Jews estimated, and I believe true ; for sundry offered Chai Livre i. e. £16 or two Dollars—and I judge Mr. Aaron Lopez offered ten or a dozen of these Chai. I asked one when they should have killed the Pascal Lambs if they had been at Jerusalem? he replied, too day. But I doubt it ; he was ignorant."

II.

Passing on to some individual Jews with whom Stiles became acquainted, his most frequent associations are with Isaac Touro, whom he sometimes speaks of as "Jew priest" and again as the "Chuzzan" or "Chuzan" or "Huzan" or

¹ Vol. I, p. 225.

"Hazen." Touro came to Newport about 1766¹ from Jamaica, remaining as the reader of the Synagogue until the departure of the Jews from Newport after the Revolution, when he also left the place and returned to Jamaica, dying at Kingston December 8, 1783.² Dr. Stiles pays frequent visits to Touro and receives visits from him in return. Their discussions are chiefly theological, dealing with questions of biblical exegesis, of religious doctrine, of prophecies and the like. He had, however, also a personal interest in his clerical friend for he tells us that on the afternoon of June 30, 1773, "Mr. Abraham de Isaac Tauro, the Hazen or Reader in the Synagogue here was married to Miss Hayes, a Jewess. Rabbi Isaac³ performed the ceremony" (vol. I, p. 393).

A curious notice occurs about Mr. Touro July 24th, 1776 (vol. II, p. 29) to the effect that "Mr. Touro the Jew priest" was excused from being summoned before the Assembly of Rhode Island to testify his willingness not to acknowledge the King of England in his prayers, on the ground of being a "foreigner." Touro appears also in a list drawn up by Dr. Stiles of those who remained in Newport after it was taken by the British December 8th, 1777. Among others mentioned in this list (vol. II, p. 131-134) are Nathan Hart, Isaac Hart and two others of the name of Hart; Isaac Elizur, Hyam Levi, Moses Satias,⁴ and Moses Levy. Dr. Stiles is careful to note in this long list of several hundred names those who are suspected of Tory tendencies, while two, three and four

¹ He must have come later than 1764 for in that year Dr. Stiles writes to Dr. Lardner (as above) that the "Chuzzan" of the Synagogue is from Amsterdam.

² Phillips, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 138; Mason's *Reminiscences of Newport* pp. 61-64; Mendes, *R. I. Historical Magazine*, vol. VI, p. 100.

³ *i. e.* Isaac Karigal.

⁴ *i. e.* Seixas. He was the son of Isaac Mendez Seixas, was born March 28, 1744, and died November 29, 1809. See Mendes, *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, VI, p. 100, and Phillips, *Pub.* No. 4, pp. 201 and 203. For Hyam Levi see Phillips, *ib.*, p. 213.

stars indicate ascending degrees of Toryism. In view of this, it is somewhat interesting to note that none of the Jewish names are marked with even one star. It has sometimes been inferred from this friendship between Stiles and Touro that the Christian divine received his Hebrew knowledge from the Jewish reader¹ but such is not the case. Stiles began the study of Hebrew, for himself, carrying it on regularly day by day. He is at pains to note when he finishes the reading of the entire Bible in Hebrew and after he finds himself sufficiently versed in this language, advances to the study of rabbinical literature; he is deeply interested in the mediaeval commentators and philosophers, and also takes up the study of Arabic. All this as early as 1770. At the most he may have had some assistance from Mr. Touro² who does not appear to have been a very profound student himself.

Another acquaintance of Stiles was the prominent merchant Aaron Lopez, of whom Mr. Kohler has treated at some length in his article on the Jews of Newport. The Diary takes note of the fact (vol. I, p. 270) that Mr. Lopez did not join in the non-importation agreement of the American merchants and that as a consequence the custom house afterward showed him all leniency and favor. As Stiles puts it "he has above 20 Sail of Vessels and his Captains are all exempt from Swearing at the Custom house and make their entries etc. without Oath." From various indications we are justified in concluding that, as in New York and Philadelphia, so at Newport some of the prominent

¹ So for example Kohut, *Pub.* No. 3, p. 124. Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, p. 120) goes even further but there appears to be as little warrant for the strange statement, based on Holmes' *Life of Stiles*, pp. 128-130, that Stiles having learnt 10 letters of the Hebrew alphabet "requested one of his Jewish friends to teach him the others;" as for the statement that Stiles delivered a Hebrew oration at the time of his installation as President of Yale College. The oration was in Latin (see Diary, vol. II, p. 281).

² See note in the Diary, vol. II, p. 290.

Jews had Tory proclivities, though it is hardly likely that Stiles is correct in his assertion March 20th, 1777, vol. II, p. 151, that the Jewish citizens made themselves obnoxious by informing against the inhabitants.¹ It must be remembered that at the outbreak of the Revolution, the interests of merchants who had dealings with England naturally made them averse to a violent break with the mother country, and while Jews no doubt furnished their share of patriots, the sympathy of the wealthier ones among them, as among the wealthier in other sections of the community, were guided by considerations for their own welfare. Aaron Lopez it would appear subsequently espoused the American cause.² However that may be, Stiles' high personal regard for Lopez was not affected by political differences between the two men. This is indicated by a sketch of Lopez' life which is included in the Diary and which furnishes us with some details hitherto unknown. He writes at New Haven on the 8th of June, 1782, as follows :³

"On 28th of May died that amiable, benevolent, most hospitable & very respectable Gentleman, Mr. *Aaron Lopez* Merchant, who retir^e from Newp^t Rhd. Isld in these Times resided from 1775 to his Death at Leicester in Massachusetts. He was a Jew by Nation, came from Spain or Portugal about 1754 & settled at Rh. Isld. He was a Merchant of the first Eminence; for Honor and Extent of Commerce probably surpassed by no Merch^l in America. He did Business with the greatest Ease & Clearness—always carried about with him a Sweetness of Behav.

¹ It would be interesting to ascertain the real facts behind the strange statements about a "secret Intelligence office" managed by Jews in London and supported by the English Ministry (vol. I, p. 65). In the form in which Stiles reproduces the statements on the authority of a Cap't Peck, they bear the mark of absurdity on their face.

² Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, pp. 73-74.

³ Vol. III, p. 24.

a calm Urbanity an agreeable & unaffected Politeness of manners. Without a single Enemy & the most universally beloved by an extensive Acquaintance of any man I ever knew. His Beneficence to his Fam^y connexions, to his Nation & to all the World is almost without a Parallel. He was my intimate Friend & Acquaintance! Oh! how often have I wished that sincere pious & candid mind could have perceived the Evidences of X^{ty}, perceived the Truth as it is in Jesus Christ, known that *Jesus* was the *Messiah* predicted by Moses & the Prophets. The amiable & excellent Characters of a *Lopez*, of a *Manasseh Ben Israel*, of a *Socrates* & a *Gangenelli*, would almost persuade us to hope that their Excellency was infused by Heaven, and that the virtuous & good of all Nations & Religions, notwithstanding their Delusions, may be bro't together in Paradise on the Xtian System, finding Grace with the all benevolent & adorable Emmanuel who with his expiring breath & in his deepest agonies, prayed for those who knew not what they did.

"Mr. Lopez was journey^g with his Wife & some of his Fam^y on a visit to Newport, and within five Miles of Providence at Scotts pond as he was water^g his Horse, the Horse plunged beyond his Depth with the Sulky, when Mr Lopez leaped into the Water; and tho his serv^t attempted to save him he was lost. His Corps was carried to Newport & there interred in the Jew Burying Ground there—the Demonstration of universal Sorrow attended the Funeral."

It was Dr. Stiles also who in May, 1783, composed the English inscription for Lopez' tombstone which is embodied by Mr. Kohler in his paper.¹

¹ *Pub.* No. 6, p. 75; see also Mendes, *R. I. Hist. Mag.*, vol. VI, pp. 90-91; Lopez came to Newport in Oct., 1752, not in 1746, as stated by Dexter, vol. III, p. 25. See Kohler, *Pub.* No. 6, p. 72. Among Stiles' papers are several drafts of this inscription. In an extract from Stiles' papers published by Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, pp. 125-126) there is a reference to the refusal in 1762 of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts to grant the application for naturalization of "Aron Lopez and Isaac Elizur." See Kohler (*Pub.* No. 6, pp. 71, 72).

Another prominent citizen at Newport with whom Stiles was acquainted was Isaac Hart, who, according to Kohler,¹ espoused the Tory cause and was killed in the attack on Fort George. He is several times referred to in the Diary, though none of the references are of much importance. It will be recalled that Hart was among those who remained in Newport after its capture, and in view of the statement generally made that he was a Tory, it is rather strange that Stiles should not have marked him as such. In an entry of March 26, 1771, Stiles refers to a letter in Hebrew received by Mr. Hart from Macpelah in the Holy Land. This letter proved to be one of the ordinary appeals for aid which still constitute a prominent element in the epistolary literature of Palestine. With his customary accuracy Dr. Stiles furnishes details of interest.²

“The preceding Letter contains a Represent^a of the Jews suffering in the holy Land. It is dated from *Hebron* in the year of the Creation 5523 corresponding with A. D. 1763. Signed Aaron Aliphander, Hijam Jeudah alias Gomez Peto, Isaac Hajja Zabi the priest, Elias Son of Archa, Phinehas Mordecai Bag Ive, Abraham Gedelia the younger. They represent that they are taxed or amerced 25,000 pieces of Eight, & send forth two Brethren to collect it by contribution. This Letter was sent to Mr. Isaac Hart of Rhode Island.”

He also speaks of attending the funeral of Mr. David Lopez, March 27, 1775, on which occasion (vol. I, 529) he makes the following entry :

“Attended the funeral of M^r David Lopez who died yesterday Morning æt. 61, and was this day at Noon buried in the Jews Burying Ground. He came from Portugal a few years ago, & with his two sons was circumcised, having been obliged to live secreted in Portugal. No Mourning, tho’ the Family wealthy.”

¹ *Ib.*, Pub. No. 4, p. 89.

² Vol. I, p. 98.

A reference to Moses Lopez, though of no special import, may be found in vol. I, p. 256. Aaron and David Lopez were half brothers to Moses Lopez (see *Pub. No. 2*, p. 104). Moses Lopez was the first of the Lopez family to reach Newport (*Pub. No. 6*, p. 72).¹

III.

As a theologian Stiles was especially interested in discussing doctrinal points with Rabbis, and he reminds us² that he has been acquainted with six Rabbis.

R. Moses Malki in 1759

R. Moses Bar David æt. 52

1772 Nov

R. Haijm I. Karigal æt. 40

1773 June

R. Tobiah Ben Jehudah æt. 48

1773 Nov

R. Bosquilla 1773 or 1774

R. Samuel Cohen.

An editorial note informs us that R. Moses Malki was born and educated at Safed, in the Holy Land, and that he was in Newport in December, 1759. Dr. Stiles, it is said, has preserved some notes of information received from him, but they are not included in the published Diary.

The second of those mentioned he met at Newport November 9th, 1772.

"This Forenoon I visited a learned Jew in Town and on his Travels. He is really a Rabbi. His title is . . . 'The Doctor our Doctor the great *Rabbi, Moses the Son of David* an Ashcanazin of little Poland, of the holy Synagogue at Apta. He is now Æt. 52 born at Apta in Poland. . . .

"In the Afternoon Rabbi *Moses* came to my house, in Company with Huzan *Touro* of this Town. We had much Conversation both of his Travels and on the Talmud and

¹ See also Peterson's *History of Rhode Island*, p. 56.

² Entry July 5, 1783. Vol. III, p. 77.

Rabbinical Literature. I shewed him the Zohar, with which he was much delighted, speaking with Raptures of the Sublimity and Mysteries of its Contents; he told me if I could comprehend that Book I should be a Master of the Jewish Learning & of the greatest philosophy in the World. . . .”¹

Stiles saw Rabbi Moses a number of times during November and December discussing doctrinal points, of which the following entries may be taken as a specimen: ²

“November 23, 1772: This Afternoon visited by Rabbi Moses and Mr. Tauro. The Whimsical Visionary though I hope honest Mr. Pipels being present, I told Rabbi Moses that this Man had seen Visions of Angels, . . . R. Moses smiled, and Mr. Pipels began to relate his Extraordinaries with Warmth. R. Moses asked him the Color of the Angel, said he was mistaken as to his vision, for that he was the Angel that appeared to him, but was sure he told him no such Thing. This humor & sarcasm touched and a little confounded Mr. Pipels who after some Talk took Leave and departed to cross the ferries and return to Pensylvania. R. Moses spent the rest of the Afternoon in my study, explaining the Zohar to me . . . This day I paid for my Zohar 22/6 sterling. This Forenoon I spent read^g Dionysius Areopag whom I find to have the same sublime Mysteries as the Zohar.”

Stiles met Rabbi Tobiah the following year and likewise probed him with questions. The two important entries that follow upon this acquaintance are as follows:

“Nov. 22-1773. Visited this Afternoon by Rabbi Tobiah Bar Jehudah late from — near Cracow in Poland aet. 48. We had much conversation on the Zohar.”³

“Nov. 23-1773. The Rabbi visited me again or came to my house but I was not at home. In the Evening I visited

¹ Vol. I, p. 299.

² Vol. I, p. 302.

³ Vol. I, p. 422. See a reference to Tobiah's supposed “Adapt-ness” in practical Cabbala, vol. II, p. 174.

him at Mr. Tauro's—and supped with them, the only Time I ever happened at Meal with a Jew. Just before they sat down to supper, Water was bro't by the Maid in a white earthen Bottle which stood in a Vase or Bason: they two washed their hands, taking up the bottle and pouring the Water on the hand. I asked if this was טבל (because the Baptists say this word denotes total, not partial, Immersions) they said yes—& quoted a passage of the Talmud that none can eat till they had thus washed themselves in which I recollect the word טבל was twice repeated. I did not wash, but sat down and eat with them. After sitting, each in a whispering voice said Grace for himself. The Rabbi said, that in the days of Messiah, it would be allowed to the Jews to eat Swines Flesh—. I said that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob when they come with Messiah, would not eat Food as formerly; he said they would.—I said Circumcision must cease—he said not—I added Childbearing must cease when the World was full as it would be in Messiahs day, and then there would be no more to circumcise and so it must cease. . . . I asked him the Value of a couple of Pearls I had & of the dimensions I described; he said if good 500 Ducats, which is about £100 sterling . . . He is a great *Cabbalist* and Philosopher; which two Branches of knowledge are far more to his Tast than the Talmud. He has a son of about 13 years age—when aet. 12 he had read thro' the Talmud. This Rabbi was educated and spent 26 years in Amsterdam, whither he was sent aet. 8. He told me he was of the Family and ninth Descendant of *R. Selomoh Ishaaci* the celebrated Commentator who died A. D. 1180.”¹

¹*Ib.* Stiles' deep interest in Jewish customs is shown by the lengthy note, vol. I, pp. 254–256. See also Willner, *Pub.* No. 8, p. 125—another extract (based on Holmes' *Life of Stiles*, p. 173) not included in the published Diary. Vol. I, p. 17, he refers to the fact that the Jews of New York had expected the Messiah in 1768. Rather strange is his assertion that the Jews are wont in a thunder-storm to open doors and windows in expectation of the Messiah (vol. I, p. 19).

On December 4, 1773, Stiles went to the Synagogue and heard Rabbi Tobiah preach in Dutch. His sermon lasted, as Stiles particularly notes, 56 minutes.

Rabbi Bosquila he met June 15, 1774, and in a description of this personage institutes a rather quaint comparison with a certain class of Christian divines. "Yesterday visited a new Rabbi came to Town. Rabbi Bosquila from Smyrna in the Levant where he was born and educated. He resided with his Family 14 years in London, is now aet. 61, for many years has followed Traffic & laid aside his rabbinical Studies. He says he has not read the Talmud which I was surprised at, as by the Certificate under the hands of a London Rabbi he appears to be indeed a Rabbi—but he has read the Zohar. The Bible and Zohar he is versed in and few other books. He is of contracted and limited Literature—he is among the Rabbins, as a Minister whose Reading has been limited to the Bible and Willards [Ridgelys] Body of Divinity among the Ministers of New England."¹

Stiles met Rabbi Samuel Cohen on June 30th, 1775. The Rabbi he states "came from Jerusalem 3½ years ago." (Vol. I, p. 578.) In connection with a visit from this Rabbi to Dr. Stiles on July 10th, 1775, a short entry is made regarding his personality.—"Rabbi Samuel Cohen visited me with the Huzan of the Synagogue. The Rabbi is aet. 34, was born & educated in the Holy Land & came from Hebron about 3 years ago. He is a *Priest*, being of the Family of Aaron. Very agreeable. His Learning rather general than profound." (Vol. I, p. 584.) He refers to Rabbi Samuel Cohen's sermon on the occasion of the Continental fast throughout the twelve Colonies recommended by the general Congress of Philadelphia for July 20, 1775. The Rabbi took as his text Numbers 25, verses 11–12. (Vol. I, p. 591.)

As a further illustration of the things that interested Dr. Stiles, a conversation with Rabbi Samuel is appended.—"R. Samuel visited me this Afternoon. We conversed on the

¹ Vol. I, p. 443.

Cherubim & Glory over the Mercy seat—& how to reconcile the erecting of cherubic Statues in the Holy of Holies & decorating the walls with the Resemblances of Angels, with the Prohibition of the 2^d Commandment? We examined the Inscriptions about Mt. Sinai which he never saw nor heard of before. They struck him, he looked on them with close Attention & Wonder—could not tell who inscribed them—only s^d repeatedly they are not Jewish. He said there were no Rivers, Brooks or running streams within one Mile of Jerusalem deep eno to swim in, nor even knee deep. Nor was there any of this depth within three Hours Walk of Jerusalem. Where could the 3000 at Pentecost be baptized by Immersion? I asked him whether the Ruins of the Aqueduct on the W. of the City was still remaining? Yes. I asked him where & how far distant was that Fountain or Body of Water which was conveyed formerly in that Aqueduct? I think he said, it was the River 3 Hours distant from Jerusalem—or else the Fountains of the River Gihon which Hezekiah sealed, & turned towds the City 2 Chron. xxxii, 30. He said this Gihon & that of Moses which watered Eden was one & the same.”¹

Decidedly the most interesting of his six rabbinical acquaintances was Isaac Karigal or Carigal as Stiles generally spells the name.² He first met him at the Synagogue at Newport on the occasion of the Purim eve service, March 8, 1773. The entry reads as follows :

“March 8, 1773. This Evening I went to the Synagogue it being the Eve of Purim. The Chuzan read thro’ the Book of Esther. There I saw Rabbi Carigal I judge aet. 45. lately from the City of Hebron, the Cave of Macpelah in the Holy Land. He was one of the two persons that stood by the Chuzan at the Taubauh or reading Desk while the Book of Esther was read. He was dressed in a red Garment with

¹ Vol. I, p. 594.

² In the publication of Karigal’s sermon referred to below the name is given as Haym Isaac Karigel.

the usual Phylacteries and habiliments, the white silk Surplice; he wore a high brown furr Cap, had a long Beard. He has the appearance of an ingenious & sensible Man.¹”

Karigal remained at Newport only a few months sailing for Barbadoes, in July, 1773, so that the statement in Jost's *Geschichte d. Israeliten*² which makes Karigal Rabbi of the Newport Synagogue requires correction. During these four months, however, Stiles saw a great deal of Karigal, both receiving and returning his visits which were devoted generally, as in the case of the other rabbis, to theological discussions. In addition, however, he also had a personal interest in Karigal and includes in this Diary a sketch of the latter's rather picturesque career.

MEMOIR OF R. ISAAC KARIGAL.

“A. D. 1733, Oct. 15 or Tisri 15 A. M. 5493 born at Hebron; & studied under R. David Malamed, R. Meir Gedalia, R. Mordecai Zabi, R. Haijm Jehuda Gomez Pato, R. Haijm Rechamim Bajaiú Brother of Mordecai, and R. Isaac Zedeka; the three first dead, the others now living.

“1750, Aetat. 17, created and entituled Hocham & Rabbi by the above Rabbins at Hebron. The Honor pronounced and declared by R. David Malamed. Read half the Talmud. Began to preach. Some created at reading a quarter of the Talmud.

“1754. Aet. 20½ began his Travels. Went first to Egypt, visited Damiata, Alexandria, & Cairo 2 or 3 months;—thence by Water to Smyrna, resided there 2 or 3 months;—thence to Constantinople, resided there two years;—thence by Land to Adrianople and Salonica and by Water again to Smyrna, about 3 months;—from Smyrna by Land in a Caravan thro' the lesser Asia by 'Cogni, and Aleppo to Damascus;—from Damascus to Aleppo again, thence across Euphrates to Ur of

¹ Vol. I, p. 354.

² Quoted by Kohut in his note on *Early Jewish Literature in America*. Pub. No. 3, p. 143.

Chaldees, Bagdat and Ispahan, which terminated his oriental Travels ; From Ispahan back to Aleppo.

"1757. Embarking on board ship at *Scandarone* he arrived at Leghorn in Italy Oct^o 1757. Spent two years in travelling Europe From Leghorn he went to Florence, *Rome*, Bologna, Milan, Padua, Venice, (twice), Vienna, Prague Nuremberg, Ausburg, Frankfort, Mentz, Holland and London.

"1761. He came to Curacao in America & tarried there two years, taking care of the Synagogue in room of one gone to Holland to finish his Studies and be made a Rabbi ; upon whose Return R. Isaac went about.

"1764. From Curacao for Amsterdam—& thence over Land to Frankfort, Nuremberg, Ausburge, to Leghorn. At Leghorn took ship for the holy Land, landed at Joffa or Joppa, thence rode to Jerusalem in one day, and in half a day more the next day to Hebron (in Aug., 1764)—*arriving at Hebron 21 Days after he sailed from Leghorn.* He has a Wife, a Son and a Daughter at Hebron. He tarried at Hebron almost four years ; and then

"1768. Shipt at Joppa and landed at Marseilles ;—thence by Land through France, resided at Paris 4 months ; thence to England. He resided in London 2½ years, and taught the scholars in the Bit Madrash there, receiving an annual Salary of £100 sterling. There was but one Rabbi in Office in London R. *Moses Cohen Azavado* now living : R. Nieto was indeed living then, but Emeritus or out of Office.

"1771. From London R. Isaac came a second Time to America and went to Jamaica where he staid one year, and remitted thence Via London and Leghorn 1000 Dollars to his Wife in Hebron.

"1772. He came from Jamaica in the Summer of 1772 to Philadelphia where he staid one month ; and came to N. York where he staid 5½ months ; and arrived at Newport March 3, 1773. He goes from hence to Surinam.

(Died in Barbadoes 1778 circa. EX. ORE RABBI."¹)

¹ Entry of July 7, 1773. Vol. I, pp. 395-6.

After Karigal's departure Stiles corresponded with him to as late a date as Nov. 3, 1775. Among the unpublished papers at Newport there are drafts of Stiles' letters written in Hebrew to Karigal together with the replies of the latter. From these memoranda it appears that Karigal was one of those incessant wanderers representing a type not infrequently met with even in the present time. How he supported himself during his travels we are left to conjecture, but presumably from contributions furnished by his benevolent coreligionists.

The description given of Rabbi Isaac's dress at the Passover service April 8th, 1773, is rather startling.

"This day is Passover with the Jews. I went to the Synagogue. The Chocam Rabbi was there; he was one called up to the Reading of the Law—but I observed that he *did not read his own portion* of the Law—which I wondered at; however he audibly pronounced the short prayer instead of the Huzzan before reading his part, and after the Huzzan had read the portion, the Rabbi alone and without the Chuzan lift up his voice and pronounced the Blessing. This is repeated by the Chuzan usually for every one of the 7 persons—but this part the Rabbi did for himself; and he performed no other part of the Service as distinct from the Congregation.

"The Rabbi's Dress of Apparel: Common English Shoes, black Leather, Silver flowered Buckles, White Stockings. His general Habit was Turkish. A *green Silk Vest* or long under Garment reaching down more than half way the Legs or within 3 Inches of the Ankles; the ends of the Sleeves of this Vest appeared on the Wrists in a foliage Turn-up of 3 inches, & the Opening little larger than that the hand might pass freely. A Girdle or Sash of different Colors red and green girt the Vest around his Body. It appeared not to be open at bottom but to come down like a petticoat; and no Breeches could be discovered. This Vest however had an opening above the Girdle—and here he put in

his *Handkerchief*, and *Snuff-box*, and *Watch*. Under this was an inner Vest of Calico besides other Jewish Talismans. Upon the vest first mentioned was a *scarlet outer Garment* of Cloth, one side of it was Blue, the *outside scarlet*; it reached down about an Inch lower than the Vest, or near the Ankles: It was open before, no range of Buttons &c along the Edge, but like a Scholars Gown in the Body but plain and without many gatherings at the Neck, the sleeves strait or narrow and slit open 4 or 5 Inches at the End, and turned up with a *blue silk Quarter Cuff*, higher up than the End of the sleeve of the Vest. When he came into the Synagogue he put over all, the usual *Alb* or white *Surplice*, which was like that of other Jews, except that its Edge was striped with *Blue straks*, and had *more Fringe*. He had a White Cravat round his Neck. He had a long black beard, the upper Lip partly shaven—his Head shaved all over. On his head a high Fur (Sable) Cap, exactly like a Womans Muff, and about 9 or 10 Inches high, the Aperture atop was closed with green cloth. He behaved modestly and reverently. Some part of the Singing in the Synagogue this day was exceeding fine & melodious.”¹

Stiles was present at the Pentacostal services May 28, 1773, and heard Karigal preach a sermon in Spanish, which was subsequently published in English translation by Abraham Lopez at Newport and of which the Society possesses a copy.² The sermon is interesting as being the first publication of a sermon preached in an American Synagogue. Among Karigal's audience were Gov. Wanton, Judge Oliver and Judge Auchmuty, who sat with the President of the Congregation. (Vol. I, p. 377; cf. p. 375.) The sermon which was liberally interspersed with Hebrew lasted 47 minutes and it would appear from the entry of June 8, 1773, that Rabbi Isaac had at first objected to its publication.

¹ April 8, 1773. Vol. I, pp. 362-363.

² Presented by Mr. Mendes Cohen for *Pub. No. 1*, p. 123. See Kohut's *Early Jewish Literature in America*, No. 3, p. 123.

"Jun 7/73. Last Monday just before I set out on my Journey I received a Letter in Hebrew from Rabbi Isaac Karigal, in answer to mine. Today I sent a Note to him, and this afternoon he made me a Visit accompanied with Mr. Lopez. We spent the Afternoon very agreeably. We had much Conversation upon the Antiquity of the Hebrew Letters. . . . We went to the Redwood Library. He admired the Writings of *Selden*.

"The Rabbi told me that he had nothing written when he preached at the Synagogue—but that he had *sealed* it first in his head and so delivered it—that he was able to recollect it and to gratify the Jews here he should write it in Spanish, and they would translate it into English, and then he would give me a Copy. But he would not consent that it should be printed. He said that none but Rabbies preached, and they usually preached on all the Holidays, but not every Sabbath, & always without notes."¹

On June 27, 1773 Karigal attended a service in Dr. Stiles' church at which the latter preached a sermon evidently prepared for the Rabbi's benefit.* As specimens of the conversations between Stiles and Karigal illustrating at the same time the limitations in the learning of both parties, the following six entries will suffice.

"March 30/73. This afternoon the Rabbi came to visit me in Company with Mr. Lopez. The Rabbi is set. 39, a large Man, neat and well dressed in Turkish Habit. We conversed largely on the Gemara, the 2 Talmuds (of which he preferred the Babylonish) the Changes of the Hebrew Language in different Ages &c &c. He was born in Hebron where he says are only 107 Families of Jews. From act. 7, has followed his Studies. He says, one may breakfast at Hebron and dine at Jerusalem, which are but six hour apart. He

¹ Vol. I, pp. 328, 392-393. An account of the sermon, together with a description of the service and remarks about the pronunciation of Hebrew will be found in vol. I, pp. 376-377.

² See an abstract, vol. I, pp. 391-392.

has been at Samaria, Tiberias, and thro' the Holy Land, at Constantinople &c. &c. He spake of Aly Bey, and shewed me a passage in the *Zohar* which he said predicted that the *Russians should conquer the Turks*. I observed that in the Original it was that *Edom* should conquer the *Ismaelites*—he replied that Edom there denoted a Northern Power and the Ismaelites those of their Religion. He said he did not understand *Arabic* to read it, upon my showing an Arabic Extract from Eutychius. Yet he said it was the common Tongue now in the holy Land, only the Jews were not allowed to learn the Writings. I shewed him the first Psalm in Arabic but in Hebrew Letters—he read it off freely—and I suppose I then for the first Time heard the true pronunciation of Arabic. He did not perfectly understand it. He said the vernacular Arabic now was different from the antient. We talked upon the difference of the Dialects of the Chaldee, Syriac, and rabbinical Hebrew, on the Targums &c. Evening coming on he took Leave in a polite & friendly manner.”¹

“June 14/73. . . . In the Forenoon I went to visit the Rabbi—discoursed on Ventriloquism & the Witch of Endor & the Reality of bringing up Samuel. He had not heard of Ventriloquism before & still doubted it. He shewed me a Hebrew Letter from Isaac Pinto a Jew in N. York, in which Mr. Pinto who is now reading Aben Ezra desires R. Carl-gal's Tho'ts upon some Arabic in Aben Ezra. But the Rabbi says he supposes Aben Ezra wrote in the Coran Arabic which he doth not understand. The Rabbi . . . is extremely fond of persuad^g himself that there has been no change in the Pentateuch since Moses left it; and shewed me a passage of St. *Austin* de Civitate Dei in a Hebrew Book of *David Nieto*; it was rendered into Hebrew to this Effect, that there was an Impossibility that the Jews shd. have corrupted their holy Books, since in all Dispersions they were found the same. He was much pleased that he was able to

¹ Vol. I, p. 357.

shew me something out of our Fathers for my Extracts out of his Rabbins. I turned him to the strong Expression in his Letter 'your Love has made such an indelible impression upon the inmost Tho'ts. & Affections of my Heart that Volumes of Book are not sufficient to write the thousandth part of the eternal Love wherewith I love thee'—and asked him how he could use so strong an Expression of Friendship? He in reply said he wished well to others besides his own nation, he loved all Mankind, & turned me to Levit. xix, 18,—*thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thyself.*"¹

"April 23/73. I visited the Rabbi. He shewed me the form of the Candlesticks of Moses and Zechariah. We discoursed on many Things.

"... I asked him whether Moses wrote all the Pentateuch, particularly the account of his own death? & also Gen. 36, 31?—he answered yes: that he wrote of Things future as present, so Isaiah wrote of Cyrus. I asked him whether by the usual Intercalation, the *hebrew Chronology* was perfect—the Jewish year exactly solar?—yes. How long their Chronology had been reduced to perfection, & whether antiently there were no Errors or Deviations from Solar Time? He said, *it was perfect from the Beginning*, the principles of it were laid down in the six Days Creation, & had been delivered down from the earliest Antiquity. I wanted more closely to attend to this Matter, as he spake with the deliberate Confidence of Demonstration—and he is a Man of great Modesty & Candor, & most remote from a disposition

¹ Vol. I, pp. 386–388. Regarding Isaac Pinto who was the editor of the first English version of the Jewish prayerbook published in America (New York, 1766), see Kohut, *Pub.* No. 3, pp. 118–121; Phillips, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 49. He died January 17, 1791, in New York. As late as April 14, 1790, Stiles refers to a letter received from Pinto whom he speaks of as "a learned Jew at New York" regarding a puzzling Hebrew inscription found by Stiles at Kent in the fall of 1789. Unfortunately there is no other reference to this supposed Hebrew inscription on which Pinto was unable to throw any light (vol. III, p. 392).

to obtrude his own Assertions without being ready to open the Reasons. But we had not Time.¹"

"July 15/73. Spent the Afternoon with the Rabbi, partly at the Redwood Library and partly at my House. I asked him whether the Rabbins of this Age thought themselves to have any particular Reasons for expecting the Messiah immediately? He said not; but he thought it was high Time for him to come; He added, that if all Nations were in War and universal Tumult and Confusion, then he should expect him immediately, but this not being more the Case now than in every current Age, &c. . . The Rabbi has the Zohar in 3 vol. 4^{to} printed at Constantinople.²"

Stiles also obtains from Karigal much information regarding the Jews in other lands, the most interesting references of this kind being the following two, one bearing on the number of synagogues and Jewish population in Palestine, the other referring to the Jews in Jamaica, Surinam and Curaçao.

"July 16/73. Comparing my Zohar with the Rabbi's. In company with the Rabbi. He told me he rode over the River Jordan on Horse-back against *Jericho* which was near the River: he said it was a very shallow River and almost dry in Summer. He had been at all the twelve or 13 Synagogues in the holy Land, and gave me the following account which I wrote from his Mouth.

	5 Synagogues at Jerusalem, large	
	2 at Saphat large	2 at Damascus
One Thousand	1 at Tiberias small	1 at Sidon
Familles	1 at Hebron large 107 Familles	1 at Aleppo large
Jews in all	1 at Gaza large	Only 12 <i>Synagoges</i>
Judea	1 at Shechem small	in the Holy Land.
or Holy Land	1 at Acco—large	
A. D. 1773	—	
	12 and 1 at Jaffa only a Chamber for Worship	
	occasionally, but not every Sabbath.	

¹ Vol. I, p. 368.

² Vol. I, p. 398.

"He said there were more Synagogues in Syria than Palestine."¹

"June 28, 1773. This afternoon the Rabbi visited me. We spent the Afternoon very agreeably. He told me that there was one Rabbi at the Synagogue in *Jamaica*, another at *Surinam*, and a third at *Eustatia* or *Curacoa*. Thus there are now *three Rabbies* settled in America. There are none on the Continent of No. America. The Rabbi has a prospect of settling in the Synagogue in *Antigua*, and this will make a fourth in America. Isaac Carigal says he was made a Rabbi when he was about 19 or twenty years old. He said the Ceremony of Imposition of Hands was not used in these Days—that after an Examination and Approbation by other Rabbies they gave him a written Certificate in which he was declared a Rabbi. He wants now 3 or 4 months of being forty years old, so was born A. D. 1733, and was made a Rabbi about A. D. 1753. He began to travel *aet.* 20, and has visited Damascus, Aleppo, Grand Cairo, Bagdat, Ispahan, Smyrna, Constantinople, Salonica, Rome, Florence, Bologna, Venice, Vienna, Prague, Paris, London, &c. Of all Cities he gives the preference to Venice and London."²

On July 19th Stiles pays a farewell visit to Karigal and on that occasion³ engages in a discussion of the question whether there would be any marrying at the time of Resurrection. Mr. and Mrs. Rivera were present and since Mr. Rivera was her second husband, Mrs. Rivera was naturally interested to know which of her husbands would be allotted to her. The Rivera referred to is Jacob Rodriguez Rivera (see Kohler, *Pub.* No. 2, p. 101). With many assurances of mutual good will, Stiles and Karigal take leave of each other.

From Newport Karigal went to Barbadoes. A letter from

¹ Vol. I, p. 398. Karigal also gives Stiles some information about the Samaritans. *Ib.*

² Vol. I, pp. 392-393.

³ Vol. I, pp. 399-400.

him to Stiles dated Surinam, September 19, 1773 (vol. I, p. 426) stated that he was 49 days in his passage. After 1775 we lose track of Karigal and the only other reference in the Diary is to a portrait of Karigal which is enumerated among the pictures in possession of Yale College.¹ This portrait which was given by Karigal to Dr. Stiles passed into the possession of the family after Dr. Stiles' death and is now owned by Dr. J. L. Jenkins of Jamaica Plain, Boston, to whose kindness the Society owes the reproduction that accompanies this paper. Mr. Jenkins furnishes the following details about the history of the picture.

"The portrait of the Rabbi came at President Stiles' death to his daughter Emilia, (Mrs. Jonathan Leavitt of Greenfield, Mass.) my maternal Grandmother. At her death it came to my Aunt Miss Mary Leavitt, who died at the homestead in Greenfield at an advanced age and who gave the portrait to me. From the time of President Stiles' death the picture hung in the old house in Greenfield. It is not known who painted it. In 1880 I had the picture restored by Williams and Everret in Boston. Then I discovered for the first time that the robe the Rabbi wears is a deep red—not blackish brown as the dirt of a century made it appear. The worn out canvas was picked out thread by thread and the pigment transferred to a new canvas. The picture was given by the Rabbi to President Stiles—then a minister in Newport, R. I. It was supposed to have been painted in Europe."

IV.

It will be appropriate to close this paper with a few miscellaneous references of interest to be found in this many-

¹ Vol. III, p. 94. Dr. Stiles also refers to a picture of Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel which he obtained from Mr. Isaac Mark, a learned Jew (vol. I, p. 620). He adds that "R. Judah Monis, the Hebrew Professor at Harvard," made much use of Menasseh ben Israel's writings and "taught them as a classical book." For other notices about Monis, see vol. I, pp. 10 and 423.

sided diary. There is an interesting entry in Stiles "Itinerary," September 13, 1772, which enables us to fix the date of the first settlement of Jews in New Haven.

"The Summer past a Family of Jews settled here, the first real Jews (except two Jew Brothers Pintos who renounced Judaism & all Religion) that settled in N. Haven. They came from *Venice*, sat down some little Time at Eustatia in W. Indies, & lately removed here. They are three Brothers (Adults) with an aged Mother, and a Widow & her Children, being in all about 10 or 8 Souls Jews, with six or 8 Negroes. Last Saturday they kept holy; Dr. Hubbard was sent for then to see one of them sick:—he told me the Family were worship^s by themselves in a Room in which were Lights & a suspended Lamp. This is the first Jewish Worship in New Haven . . . These Jews indeed worship in the Jewish Manner; but they are not eno' to constitute & become a Synagogue, for which there must be 12 Men at least. So that if there shd. hereafter be a Synagogue in N. H. it must not be dated from this."¹

In view of the doubt still existing as to the precise date of the beginning of the congregation Mickvé Israel in Philadelphia the following note is of some importance.

"July 18, 1771. . . . Mr Tauro the Jew priest or Chuzan in this Town tells me there are about a Dozen Jew Families in Philadelphia, and that they are opening a Synagogue there. He is lately from New York, but did not see the York Chuzan because he was gone to Philad^a upon that affair. I suppose therefore that he has gone to form them & begin the Synag. Worship there. They have no Edifices as yet. But I conclude this may date the Beginning of the Synag. Worship in Philad^a."²

It appears from this that while the congregation itself did not organize till March, 1782,³ informal gatherings for religious purposes took place at a much earlier date. Stiles

¹ Vol. I, p. 283.

² Vol. I, p. 124.

³ Sabato Morais *Pub.* No. 1, p. 13.

also takes occasion to note that from December 25, 1787, to December 25, 1788, there were five births and two deaths among Jews in Philadelphia.¹

January 18, 1782,² he speaks of visiting an aged Jew, Mr. Simpson (aetas 86) at Wilton³ a refugee from New York. Stiles was interested in the Hebrew manuscript Bible which Simpson had and which he claimed to be 1200 years. On July 23 the son of Mr. Simpson brought him the manuscript which was in quarto and written on parchment and which appears indeed to have been a very fine specimen.⁴

Such are in the main the references in Stiles' Diary referring to Jews on various topics. His deep interest in Jewish and rabbinical literature has been already referred to and it is characteristic of his untiring intellectual activity that he did not shrink from the difficult task of reading Jewish philosophers, commentators and even Jewish cabbalists in the original. As late as March 1, 1795, within about two months therefore of his death he was reading David Levy's "the Ceremonies and Rites of the Jewish Nation" and has this to say about it.

"March 1, 1795. . . . Readg Levy's address to the Jews 1788, an octavo Vol. in English, but I think written by a Jew converted to Xty & a roman Catholic. It is a confused & indigested Composition in ungrammatical English, but seems to be written by an honest & sincere & zealous Man—with much Translation of Scripture & in some passages esp^y of the O. T. with Critical Lights & Illustr^a of the Hebrew Prophecies as applied to J. Christ."⁵

A description that he gives of the back ground that he had chosen for his portrait painted by Mr. King illustrates again his broad learning and manifold interests.⁶

¹ Vol. III, p. 342.

² Vol. III, p. 3.

³ Ib. p. 32 he says "Norwalk."

⁴ See the detailed description, *ib.*

⁵ Vol. III, p. 556.

⁶ Reproduced as the frontispiece to vol. I, of the Diary.

“Aug. 1st 1771. This day Mr King finished my Picture. He began it last year- but went over the face again now, & added Emblems &c. The piece is made up thus. The Effigies sitting in a Green Elbow Chair, in a Teaching Attitude, with the right hand on the Breast, and the Left holding a preaching Bible. Behind & on his left side is a part of a Library—two Shelves of Books—a Folio shelf with *Eusebij Hist. Ecc.*, Livy, Du Halde’s Hist^y of China, and one inscribed Talmud B., Aben Ezra, Rabbi Selomoh Jarchi in hebrew Letters, and a little below R. Moses Ben Maimon Moreh Nevochim.

“By these I denote my Taste for History, especially of the Roman Empire, & of the Chh in the 3 first Centuries & at the Reformation—the State of China as contain^g a systematical View of an ancient pple for 4000 years, being one Third or more of the human Race & different from all the rest of the Orientals—the Rabbin. Learn^g part^y in the two most eminent Periods of it; the first before & at the Time of Christ contain^g the Decisions of the house of R. Eleazar at Babylon, and those of the Houses Hillel & Shammai at Jerusalem; the second period was at the Revival of the Hebrew Learning in the XIth & Twelfth Centuries, when arose those Lights of the Captivity, Jarchi, Maimonides, &c.”¹

That as a Christian theologian of the 18th Century he was imbued with the desire and the hope to convert the Jews is hardly astonishing² and while this hope is no doubt an im-

¹ Vol. I, p. 131.

² Vol. I, p. 61, (Aug. 4, 1770), there is a reference to a “young Jewess,” Miss Pollock, who probably became a convert to christianity, and some time later he receives a visit from a young man—also a Jew—who was courting Miss Pollock and was likewise attracted towards christianity (vol. I, p. 91, Feb. 16, 1771). Again (vol. I, p. 151, Sept. 5, 1771) he hears of a Mr. Hayes, of Phila., who had lately become a convert, tho’ the report was denied by his brother who lived at Newport. He also states that the mother of Mr. Hays, at the time that the family lived in New York, “once became a Xtian but afterwards renounced Xtianity for Judaism.”

portant factor in his interest in Jews, controlling in large measure his devotion to their literature, it will have become evident from the extracts furnished from the Diary that his humanitarian instincts were not choked by his theological zeal.

See for further references to the subject of conversion, *ib.*, pp. 214 and 423 and vol. III, p. 262, where there is a reference to a Rev. Heidek, a converted "Jew Rabbi," who proposed to convert the Cherokees to Christianity "having a Belief that the Amer Indians are the Ten Tribes of the Hebrews." This, by the way, is the only reference to the "Ten tribe" theory in the Diary. Judging from extracts from letters of Stiles, published by Willner (*Pub.* No. 8, pp. 122-123), he did not countenance the view which connected the American Indians with the lost tribes but took the more sensible (though equally erroneous) view which sought for them in the extreme East—in China or East India. See also Holmes' *Life of Ezra Stiles*, pp. 325-331.

A METHOD OF DETERMINING THE JEWISH POPULATION OF LARGE CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES.¹

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The determination of population is the first desideratum in any scientific study of a people or race. For the correct solution of many social problems, it is an indispensable requisite that the number of persons should be carefully reckoned. In several of the countries of Continental Europe, the periodic censuses enumerate the inhabitants according to the religious creed which they profess, and in those countries the Jewish population can be exactly ascertained by reference to the census figures. The absolute separation of Church and State, enjoined by the Constitution has prevented the collection of such statistics in the United States. No question with regard to religious affiliation is ever asked at an American census. The determination of the Jewish population must, therefore, be sought in other ways.

Various attempts to supply this deficiency have been made. In No. 6 of the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* (pp. 140-149), Mr. David Sulzberger gave an account of the various estimates of the Jewish population of

¹This paper had its origin in an attempt made by the Editor of the *Jewish Year Book*, Dr. Cyrus Adler, to secure estimates of the Jewish population in the United States. In reply to a letter of inquiry with regard to the number of Jews in Alleghany County, Md., Rev. J. L. Stern, minister of the Jewish congregation at Cumberland, besides giving the figures desired, suggested that the number of Jews might be ascertained for the larger cities from the number of burials in Jewish cemeteries. At Dr. Adler's request, the present writer began a study of the question. Valuable assistance has been received from Miss Henrietta Szold, Secretary of the Jewish Publication Society.

the United States, which have been made from time to time and added to them a calculation of his own, for the year 1897. The method followed in all these investigations has been to ask supposedly well informed persons for an opinion as to the number of Jews living in a certain place. Approximately correct results may be obtained in this way for smaller places where the number of Jews is not large, and may be ascertained by an actual count. In a city of 50,000 inhabitants, having several hundred Jewish residents it is entirely possible for such a count to be made. But the larger the place, the more difficult it becomes to make a direct enumeration, and the Jew is a city dweller, probably four-fifths of the Jews of the United States living in cities of upwards of 100,000 population. It is evident, therefore, that very few of the estimates made rest on direct enumerations.

The persons giving estimates as to the number of Jews in cities like New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore reach their conclusions otherwise than by counting. They know, for example, how many Russians and Poles are given by the census as residents of the community, or the number of Jewish communicants of the congregations, or some other fact which is supposed to be an indication of the total number of Jewish inhabitants. In all such cases, there are two parts in the process of making the estimate. Firstly, there is the ascertainment of a fact and secondly the assumption of a relation between that fact and the population. Every estimate must be made in this way and the best estimate will be that for which both the fact and the relation are most accurately ascertained. For example, the number of religious communicants might be used as the basis of the computation. Here, we may take it, the fact could be ascertained. According to the census of 1890, there were in the United States 130,000 members of Jewish congregations. But what relation can be assumed between that fact and the Jewish population? Is there one communicant for every five inhabitants or one for

every ten? Even if a proportion could be established between communicants and population for the country as a whole, there are differences in the relative number of church and unchurch in different cities which would render the distribution of the population very inexact. Or again, if the number of births be taken as the criterion, while the relation existing between births and population might be inferred from the statistical data for other countries, there is no accurate registration of births in the American cities. In this case, the fact itself is impossible of ascertainment.

Not to examine in detail all the criteria which might be used for the calculation of a population, it may be said that there appears to be only one which affords a reasonable prospect of successful use in estimating the Jewish population of large cities in the United States—viz., the number of Jews dying in a given place within a given time. In practically all the larger cities in this country there are efficient systems of death-registration. With regard to every person dying certain facts are recorded in the books of the Health Department of each city. While the data thus registered vary in different cities, they include usually the following: (a) name, (b) sex, (c) age, (d) occupation, (e) cause of death, (f) nationality, (g) nationality of father and mother, (h) cemetery, (i) name of undertaker, (j) name of physician, (k) residence. By the examination of these records, it is possible to ascertain the number of Jewish decedents. The Jews are almost always buried in Jewish cemeteries. While the burial place forms an almost exact test for the segregation of the Jewish dead, it can be supplemented by an examination of all the other recorded facts, and the few cases where Jews are buried in non-Jewish cemeteries can be detected. So far, then, as the exact ascertainment of the fact is concerned, the number of deaths is a criterion of high exactness.

A much more difficult problem remains—the determination of the relation which the number of deaths bears to the

population. In other words, what is the death rate of Jews in the large cities? It might be assumed that the mortality of Jews is the same as that of the remaining inhabitants. Thus, the total number of deaths in New York City for the year 1899 was 70,229, and the population numbered 3,437,202; consequently the death rate was 20.4 per thousand of living. The number of deaths among Jewish inhabitants was 6,600.¹ If the mortality of Jews is taken as equal to the general mortality of the city, the Jewish population may be roughly estimated as containing 330,000 souls. This method has been used in computing the number of Jews in London. In an article in Booth's *Life and Labour of the People*, Mr. Llewelyn Smith says: "High authorities consider the burial figures the best statistical basis for a calculation of the number of Jews in East London."²

There is reason, however, to believe that the Jewish death rate differs materially from the general death rate in our large cities. The death rates of different countries vary widely. Thirty-three per thousand of the inhabitants of European Russia die annually, while the death rate of Norway is only seventeen. Racial characteristics, economic conditions, and age grouping exercise powerful influences on the mortality of a people. It would, therefore, be hazardous to assert that the Jewish mortality is similar to that of the community as a whole.

In the first place, it is quite certain that the Jewish race, other things being equal, has a lower death rate than the people among whom they live. A long line of observations, extending over 50 years, gives this statement almost the value of a demonstration. Space is lacking for a detailed

¹ The Secretary of the Board of Health of New York City, Mr. Goldemann, has kindly furnished me with the number of burials in Jewish cemeteries for the years 1898, 1899, 1900. The statement made above is based on this information.

² Booth, *Life and Labour of the People*, vol. III, p. 104.

study of all the statistical data bearing on this point, which have been collected in many countries, but the matter has been summed up in a recent work by the distinguished statistician Georg von Mayr. "There is no doubt," he says, "that the mortality in childhood is less among Jews and along with this there goes a smaller general death rate."¹ The independent studies of Körösi amply confirm this conclusion. If the age grouping and economic conditions of Jews and their neighbors are similar, the Jewish mortality will be the lower on account of racial longevity.

The age configuration has a considerable influence on the death rate. If there is a relatively greater number of very young or very old people the death rate will be considerably heightened since the mortality of children and of old persons is much higher than that of middle-aged persons. Among immigrants there are few infants and old people. The new comers are of selected ages, the majority being between twenty and fifty years of age, and their favorable age grouping tends to give them a low death rate. On the other hand, the economic condition of the newly arrived settlers is usually of a character highly unfavorable to a low mortality. The new arrivals, especially if coming in large numbers and without industrial skill, find it difficult to secure a foothold in the labor market. They must live in crowded quarters and work under unsanitary conditions. The influence of a favorable age grouping on the death rate may be partially or entirely offset by the effect of inferior economic position.

The Jewish population of large cities falls into two fairly well defined classes. Between the Jews of Portuguese and German descent—the longer settled class, and the new immigrants of Russian and Polish origin, there is a sharp differentiation, both in economic condition and in age configuration. The more rapid an immigration and the more recent it is, the more abnormally large will be its proportion of middle-aged persons and the more likely that it will live

¹ Von Mayr, *Statistik und Gesellschaft*, Band II, Seite 303.

amid unsanitary surroundings. According to the census of 1880, there were in New York City 4000 persons whose fathers or mothers were born in Russia; in 1890, there were 67,000, and in 1900 the number was over 200,000.¹ There is no need to say that this has been an unusually rapid migration. Sufficient time has not yet elapsed for the age grouping to become normal by the natural increase of children and old people. The report of the Commissioner-General of Immigration for 1900 classifies the Hebrews arriving in the year ending June 30, 1900, as follows: Under 14 years of age, 13,092; 14 to 45, 44,234; over 45, 3,435. While emigration of German Jews has continued since 1880, compared with the number of Russian and Polish Jews it has been insignificant. There is, as is well known, a wide difference in the economic conditions under which the two classes live.

Clearly, if a separation of the recorded deaths can be made, so that the number of deaths in each class can be known and a death rate determined for each, a much closer calculation may be made of the total population and in addition the number in each class may be ascertained, a piece of knowledge as valuable as the computation of the whole population. There are several tests which can be applied for determining the class to which a decedent belongs. Here again the cemetery is an index. In the larger cities, the newer immigrants have separate burial places, so that in many cases it may be thus known whether the decedent is of the older or newer stock. The nationality of the person, and the nativity of parents are also helpful in making the division. Especially for an enumerator who has a considerable fund of information as to local conditions, all these facts taken together form in nearly all cases a sufficient basis for an accurate classification.

¹ The full figures for nativity of persons are not yet accessible, but there were 155,000 persons in New York City in 1900 who were born in Russia.

The other part of the problem then recurs—what is the relation existing between the number of deaths in each class and the corresponding population? Fortunately we have some data which enable us to obtain an approximate solution. An investigation made under the direction of Dr. J. S. Billings for the census of 1890 is helpful in throwing light on the death rate of the longer settled class of Jews. Statistics were collected for 10,618 families.¹ Only about 600 of the heads of families had been in the country less than ten years. The results, therefore, applied only to Jews of the older immigration. For the Jews included in the investigation a death rate of ten per thousand was found. There are two reasons for thinking that this is too low a rate even for the older stock of Jews. The returns were from a very well-to-do class. Only one third of the families kept no servants. While the economic condition of the Jews of German descent is undoubtedly high, there is a strong probability that the returns were made by the more intelligent and prosperous families. This is nearly always the case in such investigations. Also the age grouping was somewhat abnormal. This was due to the fact that the influence of immigration had not been overcome, and partly to the fact that the Jewish age grouping is probably different from that of the remaining population even after long settlement. It is likely, however, that if the same investigation were repeated in 1900, there would be shown a larger percentage of children and old people. Weighing these two factors, we can assert with confidence that the death rate of the Jews longer resident in this country would be somewhat higher than 12 and somewhat lower than 16 per mille. Placing it at 14 we should have a possible error of about fifteen per cent. Further light would be thrown on the matter by a tabulation of the ages of decedents as recorded in the records of the various health offices.

¹ "Vital Statistics of the Jews of the United States," *Bulletin No. 19, Eleventh Census.*

There is available a still more accurate method of ascertaining the mortality among the more recent immigrants. The greater part of the influx since 1882 has been of Russians. The census distributes the number of persons in each large city according to the nativity of parents. The health records classify decedents in the same way in some of the larger cities. By joining the two facts the death rate for persons of Russian parentage is found. Before the assumption can be made that this represents the mortality of the newer immigration, three considerations must be examined—Firstly, there seems no reason to believe that the other elements composing the influx since 1882 vary widely from the Russians in age grouping or in economic condition. The Russians are the largest and the typical class. Secondly, since the immigration is so recent practically all Russians and their descendants are included in the rubric “white persons having fathers or mothers born in Russia.” If any large class of the descendants of Russian Jews were the children of parents born in this country, the conclusions might be seriously modified since such persons would be very young and have a high death rate. Thirdly, there does not seem any likelihood that any considerable number of non-Jews are included as Russians. This can be determined exactly by a study of the records, but it is improbable on *à priori* grounds that there are many persons of Russian nativity other than Jews in the large cities. According to the census of 1880, the greater part of the Russians living in this country were in agricultural states and presumably engaged in agricultural pursuits. If there has been any large migration of non-Jews from Russia since that time, they have probably followed their compatriots. The large immigration from Russian Poland is not a disturbing factor, since the Christian Poles do not class themselves as Russians but as Poles, and both the census and the health offices follow this classification. There is evidence also from the reports of the Commissioner of Immigration that the Russian emi-

gration has consisted almost entirely of Jews. Thus for the year ending June 30, 1900, there came from Russia, 37,000 Hebrews and only 1165 other Russians.

The modes of reaching the death rate, described above, for the older settlers and the newer arrivals are based on data which it will be impossible to duplicate in a few years. The investigation of Dr. Billings is not likely to be repeated and it will not be true ten years hence that all Jews of Russian descent are contained in the category of "Persons having fathers and mothers born in Russia." In fact, it is impossible to see on what basis a few years from now the Jewish death rate can be computed even approximately.

It is to be noted also that the method described in this paper is applicable only to about fifty large cities in the United States. For a complete enumeration of the Jewish population it would be necessary to make in addition a systematic and thorough inquiry by correspondence as to the number of persons living in the smaller cities and towns.

It remains only to point out the fact that the records of decedents contain much information which if properly correlated would add much to our knowledge of the social structure of the Jewish population in America. Rough but serviceable indications might be obtained of the numbers engaged in various occupations. Data bearing on the mooted question of the comparative immunity of the Jew from certain forms of disease could be accumulated on a scale larger than has heretofore been possible.

NOTE.—A count of Jewish decedents has been made for Baltimore for the years 1899, 1900, and 1901. It is expected that a detailed presentation of the data thus obtained together with an estimate of the Jewish population of the city will be made in the American Jewish Year Book for the year 1902. Statements made in the foregoing article as to the possibility of ascertaining the number of Jewish deaths and of separating them into classes are based on the results of that enumeration.

JEWISH ACTIVITY IN AMERICAN COLONIAL COMMERCE.¹

BY MAX J. KOHLER, A. M., *New York City.*

In writing in the year 1712 on the subject of the Jews, in the course of one of the *Spectator* essays, Joseph Addison declared :

“They are, indeed, so disseminated through all of the trading parts of the world, that they are become the instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which, though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together.”

This passage is remarkable, not merely for the elegance and grace of the diction, and the liberality and freedom from prejudice thus early displayed, but for its historical significance. Addison was not merely well acquainted with many Jews living in far distant places, but his relations to the British State Department, in its colonial branches, gave him an insight into international trade relations of the day, second to that of none of his contemporaries.² International trade was then in its infancy, and Addison was well able to gauge Jewish activity in it, and could correctly assign such a position to the Jews, true at that time, even though, as applied to our own day, it would possibly be an exaggeration. The fact is that the Jews were the real projectors, pioneers and promoters of international commerce, and their relative com-

¹ Paper originally read before the Society, January 30th, 1896 ; re-written and presented anew January 30th, 1902.

² See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, vol. I, Article “Joseph ADDISON” by the writer.

mercial importance in foreign trade was, naturally, much greater, a few centuries ago, when other races had scarcely begun to be active in such pursuits. It is my purpose, in the present paper, to consider the services of the Jews in our colonial commerce, to generalize upon the foundation of specialized historical investigations made recently along these lines, particularly by workers of the English and American Jewish Historical Societies, and to briefly consider the causes and circumstances of Jewish activity in this traffic.

Let us first, therefore, consider some of the historical and natural forces which made it the "manifest destiny" of the Jew to assume this important role. It is beyond the scope of the present inquiry to consider questions of racial psychology, and to inquire why the Jew, from earliest times on, was peculiarly expert in trade. The Bible bears testimony to his business acumen as well as to his religious mission, and one might infer that he has a commercial, as well as a spiritual, mission in the world. No less distinguished an economist than Prof. Alfred Marshall,¹ has emphasized this innate racial gift, in tersely characterizing the Jewish people as "that wonderful race (that) have been leaders of the world in intensity of religious feeling and in keenness of business speculation." The Jew's peculiar aptitude for international commerce, in its bearings on America, was also ably expressed by the late Judge Charles P. Daly, who particularly emphasized the important elements of Jewish dispersion throughout the world and exclusion from other pursuits. He says:²

"Shutting them out from all other vocations and confining them to trade and commerce was to turn their capacity and energies to pursuits for which, as an acute, thrifty and intellectual people, they proved to be particularly adapted. From their cosmopolitan character, they obtained a clearer insight and more enlarged views of what was requisite to promote trade in the intercourse between different countries, and to their comprehensiveness, quickness and

¹*Principles of Economics*, second ed., vol. I, p. 49.

²*History of the Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 88.

sagacity is due to a large degree the discovery of the methods by which trade is facilitated, and commercial transactions carried on at the present day. The devotion of a whole race, widely distributed in different countries, to trade and commerce, especially when modern commerce was in its infancy, brought about results alike favorable to them and to the world. It gave them influence and power, and in the changes which commerce has effected, the intercourse it has promoted, the prejudices it has swept away and the advance in civilization that has followed it—they have played a more important part than has ever been adequately acknowledged.”

Mr. Oscar S. Straus, in one of his very suggestive presidential addresses before this Society,¹ indicated somewhat more specifically, some of these Jewish influences upon American commerce. Among other instances, he notes the following:

“The principal trade of our New England colonies was with Barbados, Jamaica, Surinam and Brazil—almost exclusively with those communities where the trade was largely controlled by the Spanish and Portuguese (Jewish) refugees and their descendants. . . .

The persecution of the Jews in Spain and Portugal and their dispersion to the four corners of the earth, which presents such a dark picture, had a bright side in its consequences, in that it fostered international commerce; for these refugees in the several countries wherein they settled soon established mercantile correspondence with one another, thereby building up a profitable trade between such countries. Thus, in a measure, is due the trade of the Italian republics with the Levant, and of Holland, England and New England, with Surinam, Barbados, Jamaica and Brazil.”

But, leaving these characterizations, let me, even at the risk of being charged with unjustified digressing, refer to the keen, suggestive, and philosophical contributions to this subject made by Dr. J. E. Scherer of Prague, in his profound and scholarly work, just published, entitled *Die Rechtsverhältnisse der Juden in den deutsch-oesterreichischen Ländern*, which has thus far received only a small fraction of the attention it merits. Their status and commercial activity in Teutonic lands are suggestively explained, as follows: When

¹*Pub.* No. 3, p. 1.

the Roman Empire crumbled, two classes of aliens were residing in Germanic lands, each having its own peculiar laws and customs, differing from those of the Germanic tribes, the Romans and the Jews. Under Germanic law, the civil and political rights, law, justice and privileges of the Germanic tribes belonged only to the Germans, and aliens were not entitled to them, but were entitled only to such rights, if any, as the king chose to grant or sell to them. During the Roman occupation this situation had been different, as Rome had recognized and developed the rights of aliens, and, within certain limits, permitted the Jews to maintain their own laws and customs, civil as well as religious. With the loss of Roman control, all this ceased, and the Romans soon gave up their own system of rights, becoming merged with the Teutons through community of belief and interests. The Jews, however, enjoyed only such right, as chattels of the King, as he chose to grant them. Soon the kings discovered that their revenues could be augmented by permitting the Jews to enjoy peculiar and special commercial rights, so that they could assess the resulting property which they accumulated, without restriction, and profit from their commercial prosperity. Meanwhile, under the feudal system, the Germanic inhabitants became obligated to render military and other services to their immediate lords, to whom the Jews were not subject, and these demands upon their time and labor made it practically impossible for them, unlike the case of the Jews, for a long time to devote themselves to commerce. In the interim, the Jews, with their innate commercial gifts and race connections all over the world, devoted themselves to trade and traffic. When modern industry, therefore, began for Europe in general, the Jews had long been economically advanced, and pioneers and leaders in commerce, from the days of Charlemagne on.

The economic position of the Jews in Europe, from this point on, is depicted in an admirable and suggestive essay by Roscher, the distinguished economist, entitled *Die Juden im*

Mittelalter, betrachtet vom Standpunkte der allgemeinen Handelspolitik, which, strangely enough, does not yet appear to have been translated into English. Let it suffice, for our purposes, to cite his authority as indicating that the Jews, after having been the pioneers in the various fields of European industry and commerce, were restricted and handicapped more and more, and largely in the same ratio, as the various European states, with their mercantile and industrial guilds, became economically more "advanced." As the different states realized that they could imitate and themselves undertake the work the Jews had performed, economic jealousy handicapped the Jews in and gradually drove them from, first one industry, then another. Soon there was little left for Jewish activity, except foreign trade. As to this, differences in language, national jealousies, national suspicion, distrust, and want of faith and confidence in foreigners, and conditions of chronic and continuous warfare, avowed or unavowed, tended to prevent non-Jews from launching upon this line of activity, in general. Hence, we find Jews forbidden, for instance, in Holland, England and even early New York, from engaging in retail trade, and hence also, as Judge Daly so well points out, their dispersion over the world, their community of blood, language, customs and morals, their confidence in each other and cosmopolitan common interests, even possibly as against national warfare, added to their innate genius for commerce, naturally led them into international trade as pioneers and masters. Such, then, were the conditions at the time of the discovery of America.

In considering, next, Jewish activity in early American commerce, I propose merely to briefly suggest, in general terms, lines of Jewish activity; particularization is reserved for other occasions, and has already in large measure been had in specialized monographs. As to the participation of the Jews in Columbus' discovery, nothing more need be said here than to quote the late Prof. Herbert B. Adams'

suggestive and epigrammatic phrase: "Not jewels, but Jews, were the real financial basis of the first expedition of Columbus."¹

Attention was called by Dr. Kayserling² to the fact that a Marrano named Luis de Torres, who accompanied Columbus on his first expedition, had settled in Cuba before the close of the fifteenth century. He appears to have first introduced tobacco into the use of civilized man, and from this date on we find Jews connected with the tobacco trade, one of the most important of all in our early colonial history. As early as 1502 we find Queen Isabella granting leave to another Marrano, Juan Sanchez of Saragossa, to send five caravels loaded with wheat, barley, horses and other articles to Espanola without payment of duties, and Ferdinand granted him a similar license two years later.³ This man was a nephew of Gabriel Sanchez, the chief treasurer of Aragon, and he and Luis de Santangel, Comptroller-General of that State, both Marranos, had been the principal patrons of Columbus' expedition at the Spanish Court, and it was to them that Columbus directed his first letters, giving an account of his discovery. In general, however, it is to anti-Jewish ordinances and proceedings that we must turn for information as to early Jewish settlements and commercial activity in Spanish America, for the profession of Judaism was visited by most grievous penalties. Thus the repeated re-enactment, with increasingly severe penalties, of prohibitions upon the settlement of Jews, New Christians and descendants of Jews, in the New World in 1502, 1506, 1518, 1522, 1530, 1539, 1552, 1559, 1567 and 1568 indicate in themselves the ineffectiveness of these prohibitions, which were modified in 1577 upon the payment of an enormous sum of money to the Crown by Jews and

¹ Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Series X, *Columbus and his Discovery of America*, p. 386.

² *Christopher Columbus and The Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, p. 95.

³ Kayserling's *Christopher Columbus*, p. 127.

Marranos.¹ Their ineffectiveness is more clearly established by the numerous trials of secret Jews before the Inquisition in America, each case indicating other secret Jewish residents, the rich possessions of the victims, thus sought to be confiscated, being an important motive for these prosecutions. One of the few early non-Jewish references brought to light from other sources is the journal of the voyage of Francis Pyrard from Bahia to Portugal in 1611, who thus refers to a fellow-voyager on his ship :

“The Jew had more than 100,000 crowns’ worth of merchandise, most of it his own ; the rest put in his care by the principal merchant and others. There was also another Jew on board as rich as he, and four or five other Jewish merchants. The profits they make after being nine or ten years in those lands are marvellous, for they all came back rich ; many of these new Christians, Jews by race, but baptized, being worth 60, 80 or even 100 thousand crowns, yet they are slightly esteemed withal.”²

In fact, this “want of esteem,” thus referred to, is suggestive, and was probably due to contempt on the part of the proud Spaniards and Portuguese for the mercantile occupation, as much as for the race. The Spaniards and Portuguese were themselves ill adapted for colonizing or trading pursuits, and this made the position of the Jews among them all the more essential, and, conversely, profitable. Brazil’s “golden era” and decay clearly indicate this. Jews settled there prior to the middle of the sixteenth century, and are even said to have transplanted sugar culture from Madeira to Brazil in 1531 or 1548, and introduced the article into the New World ;³ this was the next important article of

¹ Compare Dr. Bernard Moses, *The Establishment of Spanish Rule in America*, pp. 55-57.

² See this and numerous other references to Jewish activity in early American commerce, quoted in Appendix I to my paper, *Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800*, I, *Publications Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.* No. 2, pp. 94-99.

³ See Dr. Fishell’s *Chronological Notes*, Pub. No. 2, p. 99 ; Kayserling’s *Christopher Columbus*, p. 128 ; Lindo’s *History of Spain and Portugal*, p. 374, and a very valuable series of articles on *The First*

colonial commerce. But even if Jews did not first introduce the article in America, it is indisputable that Joseph Hakkohen, the Jewish historian, already about 1533, referred to Jewish activity in the matter of sugar culture in America,¹ and we learn from accurate though unfriendly non-Jewish sources, that the bulk of the successful sugar plantations in Brazil during the first half of the 17th century belonged to Jews. Says our informant, Nieuhoff:²

“They had a vast traffic beyond all the rest; they purchased sugar-mills and built stately houses in the Receif. They were all traders, which would have been of great consequence to the Dutch Brazil, had they kept themselves within the due bounds of traffic.”

Rev. Dr. Marcus Jastrow, 25 years ago, pointed out that the establishment of the Inquisition in Brazil had the effect of injuring the sugar industry, that under the Dutch rule it again prospered, but was once more diminished in consequence of the re-establishment of the Portuguese rule, and then found its principal centre in the West Indian Islands, to which the expelled Brazilian and other Jews betook themselves. Before leaving the subject of Brazil, however, where thousands of Jews were living about the time of the Portuguese reconquest in 1654, it should be observed that Jews there, before that event, laid the foundation of Amsterdam's position as “diamontopolis.”

But we must retrace our steps somewhat, in order to consider, chronologically, the relations of the Jews to the Dutch and English foreign trade movements in their infancy. When the formation of the Dutch West India Co. was being agitated about 1620, William Usselinx, the pioneer of the movement, who merely designed the establishment of Dutch

Jews on American Soil, which appeared in 1871 in vol. I of *Young Israel* from the pen of Rev. Dr. M. Jastrow, pp. 72-75, p. 212. But see E. O. von Lipmann, *Geschichte des Zuckers*, and Campbell's *Sugar Trade*, p. 7.

¹ Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, *Columbus in Jewish Literature*, Pub. No. 2, p. 133.

² Pub. No. 2, p. 95.

trading colonies in uninhabited American districts, was much annoyed to find that an opposition draft of a proposed charter was submitted to the States General, which included as features proposed attacks upon the Spanish silver fleets and a proposed capture of Brazil from the Portuguese; one of the chief arguments in favor of this opposition charter was the co-operation which Holland would secure from Jewish residents of Brazil. Needless to say, Jews were actively interested in this substitute measure. In spite of Usselinx's violent opposition, and furious and ungoverned outbreaks against the Jews in general, the proposed substitute was adopted, and these were the features which made the company financially successful and prosperous, a dividend being declared in one year of 75 per cent.¹ Jews were large stockholders and directors of the company, as indicated by Mennasseh ben Israel two and a half centuries ago, and by Judge Daly in our own day. This identification of Jews with the Dutch West India Company, from its origin on, was largely responsible for Jewish settlement and liberal treatment in New York from 1654 on, in Curaçao, settled by the same Company, a few years earlier, and throughout the West Indies.

Let us here again emphasize a circumstance already indicated, but which becomes more and more marked from this time on, and the importance of which, in any historical consideration of international trade, cannot be over-estimated. We must remove from our minds the thought of foreign and inter-state and district trade, common and important in our day, and consider the conditions of a few centuries ago, when people were in the habit of dealing largely with their immediate neighbors, when they distrusted all strangers, particularly those of other nations, living far off, when sudden, even unavowed, warfare, with or without warning, might involve a forfeiture of all the property of aliens, when

¹ See M. J. Kohler, *Beginnings of New York Jewish History*, Publications No. 1, p. 42-4.

such people in general had no common language, nor laws nor customs, to regulate dealings with each other, when migration and travel were very uncommon, and when means of transportation were primitive and unreliable. The era of trade with people living in distant towns and countries had, roughly speaking, not yet arrived. Naturally the Jews, dispersed all over the world, had extraordinary advantages over all other races in this species of commerce. Community of language, race, blood, rules of conduct, confidence in and intercourse with each other, inherent commercial aptitudes in this direction, and the fact of their dispersion, involuntary as often voluntary, made this role one for which they, above all others, were peculiarly well qualified. At and about the time of the Portuguese reconquest of Brazil in 1654, we find Jews, accordingly, settled in each of the following regions, important in any consideration of American colonial commerce: Spain, Portugal, Italy and the Levant, Holland, England, Brazil, Spanish America, Curaçao, Jamaica and the West Indies, Surinam and New York. The great variety of products of these regions and their diversified needs and interests indicate the golden opportunities for trade, even if restricted to Jews dealing with Jews, in each of these regions, and they were in truth taken advantage of.

Such were the conditions when Menasseh ben Israel made his application for a formal re-admission of Jews into England. Cromwell was at the time very busy with schemes of colonial empire, and was making plans to divert the lucrative carrying trade of the world, which Holland was then enjoying, to English subjects, by means of Navigation Acts and other measures. Mr. Lucien Wolf's recent brilliant work on "Menasseh ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell,"¹ clearly indicates that Cromwell, master statesman as he was,

¹ Published for the Jewish Historical Society of England by Macmillan & Co., London, 1901. Compare review by the writer, entitled "*Menasseh ben Israel and some Unpublished Pages of American History*" in *The American Hebrew*, Nov. 1, 1901.

fully appreciated the advantages of enlisting Jewish aid in these ambitious plans. The authorization of Jewish settlement in England, in Cromwell's time, may be regarded as a mere incident in this great game of international trade, in securing for England, this Jewish support, and that, even more abroad, than at home.¹

How completely these plans were realized, and this trade placed in the hands of Jews in part in British possessions, may be inferred from the circumstance that, only a few years later, upon the accession of Charles II., the London Corporation, from motives of economic envy, protested against Jewish settlement in English dominions, among other reasons because, in the language of this protest, "they monopolized the foreign trade, and by this means injured British commerce abroad and enhanced the price of foreign commodities at home."² As more rational principles of government, economics and trade regulation began to come in vogue, we find the distinguished early economist, Sir Josiah Child, in his *New Discourse of Trade*, published in 1692, pleading for the naturalization of the Jews in England, solely with a view to improving England's commerce,³ and it appears that his principal object was thus to secure for England more of the great advantages that were accruing to Holland from Jewish enterprise and commercial activity. In an able tract published and extensively circulated in England in 1753, in connection with the agitation for the repeal of the Jewish Naturalization Act of the year before, the following suggestive statements were made by one fully at home with the commercial questions involved, and influenced by far-sighted economic principles :

¹ Compare S. R. Gardner: *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, vol. III (1901), p. 216: "It (the London Jewish Community in 1655) was formed for the most part of men of wealth and position, with wide commercial alliances on the Continent and in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies."

² Lucien Wolf: *Jewish Emancipation in the City*, I, *Jewish Chronicle*, Sept. 14, 1894.

³ Second edition, pp. 140-4.

"The Spanish West India Trade is of that Nature and Duration that none but such as have great capitals can deal largely in it with success, and has this Circumstance peculiar to it, that to carry it on, it is necessary to have Goods from most Parts of Europe, and by Consequence it is not material where the Person lives who carries it on. However, Partiality generally engages the Merchant to augment the Assortment of the manufactures of his own Country beyond those of others. By much the greatest Part of this Trade, so far as British Capitals are concerned in it, is carried on by Jews. The Value of this Trade will be better understood when we reflect that the getting a License for one Ship yearly was reckoned an Equivalent for any faults in the Treaty of Utrecht and was on all Hands acknowledged for a great National Benefit. Now, great as it is, there is one Jew in this City (London) who constantly has a License for a larger Ship than the South Sea Company ever had, and, giving many People Shares under him, employs her constantly in this trade. Neither is he the only one, there being several Jews who carry on this Trade as extensively. This, surely, is a National Advantage, and detrimental to no Individual Merchant, as, were the Jews absent, there is not a Set of Merchants in this Country that either could or would undertake it, and were they settled in either France or Holland, they would carry on the Trade with equal Advantage . . . The Jews are often aiding by their Recommendations in employing our shipping in carrying Goods from one Foreign Port to another on Freight, preferring them, whenever it is in their Power, to those of any other Nation. . . . There are among the Jews many useful men in other Branches, especially in our Silk, Cotton and Jamaica trades, and in the Trade from the last place to the Spanish Main they are of great Utility; this is a trade which yields large Sums in Bullion to the Nation."¹

Thus wrote an acute observer in 1753. Very properly, Zangwill, in his *King of Schnorrers*, which deals with this period, has described the character who figures as a wealthy Jewish merchant, as engaged in this West Indian trade.

Taking up next, for very brief consideration, Jewish trade in particular colonial settlements, we turn first to Jamaica.

¹ "Further Considerations on the Act to Permit Persons professing the Jewish Religion to be Naturalized by Parliament. In a Second Letter from a Merchant in Town to his Friend in the Country." pp. 100, 1753, See *Bibliotheca Anglo-Judaica* by Joseph Jacobs and Lucien Wolf, p. 65, No. 358. A copy of this rare tract is contained in the Leiser Library in Philadelphia.

Here Jews had settled by the middle of the 16th century, under the protection of the house of Braganza, and began truly to flourish from the time of the British conquest, in 1655. In dealing with the Jews of Jamaica, Richard Hill, a local historian who was a member of the Jamaica privy council for some time, said :¹

“Several Jewish families already here under the Portuguese protection, progenitors of families still living, commenced that nucleus of Jewish influence, so remarkable and so paramount in Jamaica at this day . . . The stirring commerce of the New World was here opened to them, and they started forward in a commercial career of unhindered activity . . . The Jewish families, therefore, who remained as Portuguese (at the time of the British conquest), laid the foundation of the trade and traffic of Jamaica, as soon as mercantile business had become organized with the Freebooters.” See also his *Eight Chapters in the History of the Jews in Jamaica* : “In our own expectations, we reverence the Providence that has united them with us. Their presence anywhere is a significant event, with us it has been a great channel of relations with America.”

The vanilla trade of Jamaica, about 1665, was also principally in Jewish hands.² Long, the leading historian of Jamaica, writing in 1774, in his history of Jamaica (II, p. 295), said of the Jewish residents :

“Their knowledge of foreign languages and intercourse with their brethren, dispersed over the Spanish and other West India Colonies, have contributed greatly to extend the trade and increase the wealth of the Island ; for they have always been the chief importers of bullion, and the riches they acquire to themselves are expended in effect to the public welfare, for they are not mere brokers and money lenders that may remove ad libitum, for they are allowed the purchase of lands and tenements, and actually possess a large share of both . . . Among the chief men are several very opulent planters and capital merchants who are connected with great houses in the city of London.”

¹*Lights and Shadows of Jamaican History.*

²*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial* : Edited by W. Noel Sainsbury, vol. 1661-1668, p. 212 ; Lucien Wolf : *Jewish Emancipation in the City*, III ; also “*The First Victory*” in *Jewish Chronicle*, Nov. 30, 1894.

But the chief article of trade of Jamaica and the whole West Indies was sugar, and Mr. Lucien Wolf has well said that "for a time the whole sugar trade of the West Indies was a Jewish monopoly."¹ In considering Jamaican trade and West Indian trade in general, we are apt to underestimate its importance, because we are inclined to gauge it by the character and value of this commerce in our own day, but the fact is that both actually, and, of course, relatively, it was far more important a century or two ago than to-day. This is well illustrated by Mr. Brooks Adams in his recent suggestive work on "America's Economic Supremacy," in which he shows that Jamaican trade has decreased absolutely 25 per cent since a century ago, besides which the value of money was then, of course, ever so much greater. He well says:

"Down to the battle of Waterloo, perhaps no landed property had ever proved more profitable than the sugar estates of the Caribbean; and before the advent of the East Indian nabob, the West Indian planter filled, in the popular fancy, the figure of an ideal millionaire."

We also find David Gradis, of Bordeaux, carrying on trade on a very large scale with the West Indies, his cargoes, bound for Cayenne, Martinique, St. Domingo and other points, being composed of wine, alcohol, meat and pickled meat, which he exchanged for sugar and indigo, the Rev. George Kohut even venturing to assert that Gradis "controlled the trade of France with the West Indies."² Surinam had a large and influential Jewish population for many years, and carried on a considerable trade with Holland, New York and other points. Their standing and influence may be inferred from the circumstance that the Dutch Governor, in 1675, refused to permit these Jewish settlers to

¹ Wolf: *Ibidem*.

² "Sketches of Jewish Bravery, Loyalty and Patriotism in the South American Colonies and the West Indies," by Rev. Geo. A. Kohut, in Wolf's *The Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, p. 478.

leave Surinam, in common with other British subjects, upon its cession to Holland, and Great Britain was compelled specifically to demand them of Holland as British subjects, probably the first official recognition of Jews as British subjects in foreign relations.¹ The important trade relations of the West Indian colonies, particularly of Jamaica, Barbadoes and Surinam, with New York, Pennsylvania and New England, have already been indicated.² In the archives of the State of New York³ is to be found the original Spanish bill of lading and invoice of goods shipped from Curaçao to New Netherland in 1658, directed to Joshua Mordekay En-Riques, consisting of Venetian pearls, Venetian pendants, thimbles, scissors, knives and bells, thus partly corroborating Dr. Kayserling's statement⁴ that "Jews, scattered along the whole coast, carried on an extensive trade in precious stones with Venice, Turkey and other countries."

The varied elements in New York's population and connections made the trade of its Jewish residents also, most diversified. Soon after the earliest party of Jewish settlers arrived in New York, we find some of them importing a cargo of tobacco; a few years later others are referred to as shipping goods from New York to Surinam. Of course trade with Holland and Curaçao had been opened, and attracted some of the Jewish settlers before this. Already in 1661 we learn of Jewish importers of negro slaves, and in 1720 a Jewish resident was engaged in exchanging merchandise for slaves, brought in his own vessel from Guinea. Within a few years after their arrival in New York, Jews

¹ Prof. J. H. Hollander: "Documents Relating to the Attempted Departure of the Jews from Surinam in 1675," *Pub.* No. 6, p. 9; also papers by Dr. B. Felsenthal and Prof. Gottheil, *Pub.* IV, p. 1; Prof. Gottheil, No. 9, 129, 143, and Kohler, No. 8, 77-8, 91-96.

² See particularly the valuable paper by Dr. H. Friedenwald, entitled "Material for the History of the Jews in the British West Indies," *Pub.* No. 5, p. 45; and New York records.

³ MS. Translation of Dutch Records, vol. XII, p. 99.

⁴ *Columbus*, p. 129.

had established trade intercourse along the Delaware River, within the present limits of Pennsylvania. Reference after reference to importations by Jewish residents of New York, frequently in their own vessels, from Rhode Island, Jamaica, Barbadoes, St. Thomas, Canada, Bermudas, Lisbon, Madeira and Liverpool are to be encountered before the Revolutionary War.¹ Even with India trade was opened during this period by a Jewish resident, who had himself previously lived in Calcutta, while still another Jewish resident sent his own ships to Malabar and China. Nor was trade with Indians for furs neglected, as witness the career of Hayman Levy, at one time employer of the first Astor. During the French and Indian war we even find American Jews serving as contractors for the British armies' supplies here. Perhaps the most suggestive indication of Jewish commercial acumen is afforded by the career of Luis Gomez, who was engaged in the exportation of wheat on an enormous scale early in the 18th century, and succeeded in 1710, in consequence of a strong and persuasive memorial on the advantages of repealing certain existing restrictions upon the exportation of wheat, in inducing the New York Council to permit him to export a cargo of wheat to Madeira, after numerous similar memorials by others had been rejected.² The trade interests of Newport Jews were similarly enormous during the few decades preceding the Revolution (*Pub. No. 6*, p. 61), particularly in the case of Aaron Lopez, whose many vessels were commonly freighted in the West Indies with molasses, which was brought to Newport, then manufactured into rum for exportation to the coast of Africa, the vessels returning from Africa with slaves for the West Indian market. Lopez's vessels exceeded thirty, it seems, shortly before the Revolution, and he was looked upon as the most eminent and successful merchant in New England. The spermacetti industry was created by the Newport Jews; they even formed an inter-colonial oil

¹*Pub. No. 2*, 76; *No. 3*, 73.

²*Pub. No. 3*, 79.

trust about 150 years ago, thus antedating the Standard Oil Co., and their participation in whaling was also very great. Time forbids similar discussion of Philadelphia's, Charleston's and Savannah's Jewish communities.

Edward Eggleston, the leading historian of American colonial commerce, has well pointed out that the balance of trade with Europe was heavily against the American colonies every year, and as the English merchants declined to accept our colonial currency, this heavy balance had to be paid in coin. This coin was procured only through the medium of this foreign trade, particularly with the Spanish and West Indian settlements, who had gold and silver, and needed nearly every other commodity instead. As already stated, the principal places with which this trade was conducted were places where Jewish settlements had been formed at an early day, where Jewish traders predominated, and with whom Jewish traders elsewhere naturally had marked advantages over persons of other persuasions. Jewish influences on the trade and destiny of our country along these lines were large, and no other people were so well qualified to exercise them. This trade was a physical necessity, and without it, bankruptcy, stagnation and ruin would have fallen to the lot of the colonies, so little were their interests considered by the framers of legislation in England.

What wonder, then, that economic conditions laughed to scorn Navigation Acts and the like, when necessity and existence were thus involved, especially as violations of revenue laws were not regarded in that day as *mala in se*.

We may well conclude this consideration of Jewish activity in our colonial commerce with the observations of Long, the historian of Jamaica, made in 1774, a writer moreover, whose works show that he was not entirely free from the anti-Semitic prejudice of the day. After quoting a passage from the French Code Noir of 1685, by which Jews were excluded from the French colonies, he adds:¹

¹*History of Jamaica*, III, p. 922.

“But what must our losses of trade and inhabitants have been at Jamaica, had we copied from this precedent, and (as our Council once foolishly petitioned the crown), proscribed these useful people from our islands? In fact, this measure of the French Government has been, comparatively speaking, almost as beneficial to us as their persecution of the Huguenots many years ago proved to England. We gained a large accession of subjects who brought not only their wealth with them, but their knowledge in trade.”

THE JEWS OF GEORGIA IN COLONIAL TIMES.

BY LEON HÜHNER, A. M., LL.B.

Of the original thirteen colonies, Georgia is distinctive with respect to its settlement. It was primarily brought into being by considerations of charity and was intended by the trustees, who obtained the Charter for its foundation, to be a model colony in every respect. Thus at the very start all sorts of restrictions were placed upon the settlers¹ and the two things deemed most prejudicial to a model state, namely rum and lawyers, were absolutely excluded. It is curious to note that although the trustees soon relaxed as to the former, yet during the entire period that they were in charge, lawyers were not permitted in the colony.²

It is erroneous to suppose that the colony was founded to afford a refuge for reformed convicts or the like. Its primary object was to assist needy and respectable families from England and elsewhere to better their condition by giving them land in the New World, and assisting them in its cultivation by bounties or otherwise.³ "The colonists were to be those who could not make a comfortable living in England, men of good morals who were not in debt, or, if in debt, whose creditors were willing for them to leave England."⁴ The trustees consented to no im-

¹ *Historical Collections of Georgia*, compiled from original records and official documents by the Rev. George White, M. A., N. Y., 1855, p. 16. See also Tailfer's *True Narrative*, 1741.

² *History of Augusta, Ga.*, by Chas. C. Jones, Syracuse, 1890, p. 40 &c. Also Tailfer's *True Narrative*, 1741, p. 21.

³ *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, by George Gillman Smith, Macon, 1900, p. 5.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 5.

migrants except such as had presented themselves to them, and had been found to be worthy of the Charity, and desirable both because of their respectability and physical condition.¹ Most of the settlers who came over with Oglethorpe in 1733 were able-bodied and deserving young men.

The beginning of Jewish history in Georgia is nearly contemporaneous with the beginning of the colony. Some of the detail regarding the early Jewish settlers has been heretofore ably presented to this society by the Hon. Charles C. Jones, the distinguished historian of Georgia,² but there is so much additional material, much of which Mr. Jones did not have at the time his paper was presented, that the present writer hopes to be pardoned for presenting a paper on the same subject, and therefore as to such statements as appear in the earlier sketch, he proposes merely to make allusion herein.

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century the Sephardic congregation of London was looked upon as the most representative Jewish congregation in Europe. Its members were, for the most part, men of great wealth and influence, and its fame for charity was such that frequent applications for assistance came to it from the less fortunate Jews in all parts of the world.³ They assisted the Portuguese refugees who still came in numbers after escaping the terrors of the Portuguese Inquisition, and on the other hand the congregation had its "poor problem," there having been at just that period a great influx of poor German Jews into England.

Picciotto tells us that to endeavor to diminish the strain of pauperism by immigration, the Sephardic congregation appointed a Committee to apply for grants of land in Georgia which the British government was freely distributing to intending immigrants. This Committee remained standing

¹ *History of Georgia*, by Chas. C. Jones, vol. I, p. 113.

² *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 1, pp. 5-12.

³ *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, pp. 152, 159, &c.

for some years, "but," says Picciotto, "though it was still in existence in 1745, we do not gather that it led to any practical results."¹

There can be no doubt that this Committee consisted of three of the wealthiest officers of the Congregation, namely, Francis Salvador, Alvaro Lopez Suasso, and Anthony da Costa. Despite Picciotto's statement, it seems that these gentlemen did take action to accomplish the desired result.

As early as 1732, while collections were being made in England for the purposes of Oglethorpe's charity, commissions were issued to the three gentlemen named to collect monies for the purposes of the Charter.² They apparently did collect monies, probably among the wealthy Jews in the congregation, and with the money collected sent several Jews to Georgia, though without first obtaining the consent of the trustees so to do.³

While the Charter of the trustees guaranteed liberty of conscience and worship to all settlers except Papists,⁴ it seems that the trustees had never expected that Jews might come within the scope of the provision, and all their records show that they harbored considerable prejudice against members of the ancient faith.⁵ This being apparently their exception to the rule of universal charity.

That Jews were about to be sent to Georgia seems to have been known to the trustees several months before that event

¹ *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, p. 152.

² Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 152. *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, 1, p. 6. Daly, *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, p. 65. White's *Historical Collections*, 328, &c.

³ *Historical Collections of Georgia, &c.*, by George White, p. 328. Also authorities above cited.

⁴ *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America, &c.*, by Patrick Tailfer, M. D., and others, Charles-town, 1741, p. 13.

Also Force's *Historical Collections*, vol. I, p. 13. See also Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 92.

⁵ *Historical Collections of Georgia*, by George White, p. 328.

took place.¹ As early as January, 1733, they required Salvador and his colleagues to deliver up their commissions. The latter refused to comply, and it would seem as though there was some question as to the construction of the authority conferred, and that after all there was a question whether the gentlemen named were not acting within the scope of their authority. After a long correspondence the commissions were surrendered in 1734.² The ground on which the trustees based their revocation is stated in the correspondence to be "that the sending of Jews may be of ill consequence to the Colony," and again "that they cannot conceive but the settling of Jews in Georgia will be prejudicial to the Colony."³

In July, 1733, forty Israelites arrived at Savannah.⁴ The gentlemen in England who were responsible for sending Jews to Georgia acted from purely charitable motives with the avowed object of accomplishing the result which the London Congregation desired to accomplish. Subsequent events, too, show that the settlers sent by them were entirely unexceptionable under the rules of the trustees, nearly all being under thirty years of age, able-bodied and industrious.⁵

That no wrongful motive can be attributed to Salvador and his colleagues goes without saying when we remember that those gentlemen stood beyond reproach in the community. Francis Salvador was at this time one of the di-

¹ *Historical Collections of Georgia*, by George White, p. 328, &c. See Trustees' entries in minutes Jan. 31, 1732.

² *Id.*, p. 328, quoting from the minutes of the Trustees. See also Jones' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 152.

³ See White's *Historical Collections*, 328 and 329. Steven's *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 101. Also Jones, I, p. 152 &c.

⁴ Steven's *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 101. Jones, I, p. 152, &c. Force's *Collections*, vol. I, p. 21 (20 families). White's *Historical Collections*, p. 328.

⁵ See the Sheftall Narrative given in part in I, *Occident*, p. 382. From the various dates given therein, the ages of several of these early settlers at the time of their arrival can easily be calculated.

rectors of the Dutch East India Company, and was one of the wealthiest merchants in England. He made frequent loans to the British government, and his charities annually went into considerable sums.¹ The Salvador family seems also to have owned immense tracts of land in South Carolina, and to have been generally interested in American enterprises.² His colleague on the Committee, Alvaro Lopez Suasso, also known as Baron Suasso, was one of the wealthiest men of his day;³ while the third member, Anthony da Costa, was the first Jewish director of the Bank of England.⁴

Though forty Israelites arrived at Savannah in July, 1733, not all of these, if any, were actually sent by Salvador and his colleagues. Those who were sent were all Germans.

In an early account on the Settlement of the Jews in Georgia, written in 1733 by Benjamin Sheftall,⁵ he mentions that the forty Israelites who came to the colony paid their passage, laid in the necessary supplies for the voyage, and were in no way dependent on charity. This statement would at first blush appear inconsistent with the entry in the records of the trustees referred to. Investigation, however, shows that Sheftall's statement is absolutely correct. It seems that there were two sets of Jewish settlers who came into Georgia—the Portuguese and the Germans. The Portuguese, among whom were also one or two Bavarian Jews, are those referred to in Sheftall's narrative and most of them were, like Dr. Nunez and Abraham De Lyon, direct

¹See paper by the present writer on "Francis Salvador," the grandson of the gentleman above mentioned, *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, 107, &c. See also Picciotto's account of the Salvador family.

²Drayton's *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, I, p. 348, &c. Also Picciotto.

³Drayton's *Memoirs*, I, pp. 348 and 349.

⁴*Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*, by James Picciotto, p. 103.

⁵See article by Mordecai Sheftall in I, *Occident*, p. 381. Comp. also article by "A Southern Jew," I, *Occident*, p. 247.

refugees from the Portuguese Inquisition.¹ Most of these, too, had independent means. The German, on the other hand, belonged to the class who were dependent on charity and consisted of about twelve families who were sent over by the Committee of the London Congregation.

It is needless to say, that both sets of settlers kept very much apart. The prejudice existing in that day between

¹ Dr. Nunez was a native of Lisbon. See White's *Statistics*, p. 601.

Mr. J. D. Harby, of Charleston, S. C., a descendant of Abraham De Lyon, informs me that the De Lyons are a distinct family and not of the same stock as the De Leons, of South Carolina. My impression is that some distant relationship between the two families is admitted. It is claimed also that *De Lyon* is the only correct spelling. While it is only fair to bow to family tradition on this subject, the impartial writer must, however, call attention to the fact that in the early records at least, the name is indiscriminately spelt both De Lyon and De Leon, referring to the same individual. In Tailfer's *True Narrative* (1741), the name invariably appears as De Leon or simply Leon. Martyn in his narrative, 1742, spells the name De Lyon, and other early records spell the name both ways. McCall, writing as late as 1816, spells the name De Leon. Wherever it has been possible to do so in this sketch I have adhered to the family tradition, and have only departed therefrom when making a quotation, in which case I have always felt that a writer should invariably give a quotation as he finds it.

Mr. Harby also informs me that the traditions of his family have it that Abraham De Lyon came from Spain. On this subject, however, I find that all the early documents and records are uniform in referring to Mr. De Lyon as "a Jew who had been for many years a vineron in Portugal," or "who for years before coming to America had been a vineron in Portugal," or simply as "a vineron from Portugal," etc., etc. See Tailfer's *True Narrative*, 1741, p. 27, &c.

Martyn's *Account Showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America* (1742). McCall's *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 58. Also *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, pp. 48, 50. *An Impartial Inquiry Into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, 1741, pp. 21-22. See also letter by the present writer in *American Israelite*, Feb. 15, 1901, on this subject. Also Force's *Historical Col.*, vol. I, pp. 48, 50. The other settlers are also mentioned as Portuguese Jews and it has already been stated that the Ribiero family came from Lisbon.

the Portuguese and German Jews was too great to allow of close relations.¹

The Portuguese Jewish settlers came, as has been stated, without any assistance whatever. Many of them, like Dr. Nunez, brought considerable funds with them into the Colony. Owing to a discrepancy in dates also, in the trustees' entries and in Sheftall's narrative (the one mentioning the arrival of Jews as of July 7 and the other as July 11), it would appear as though those Jews who were assisted came in a separate vessel.² Certain it is, that most of the Sephardic Jews were born in Portugal and that these remained separate and apart from the German Jews in the New World, separated perhaps by the same prejudice that had controlled in the Old.

Whether the Jews came together or separately, however, the prejudice of the trustees extended to Jews generally, independently of nationality. They promptly wrote to Oglethorpe to give them no encouragement but to get rid of them as soon as possible.³

To Oglethorpe alone belongs the credit that the Jewish settlers were allowed to remain. He retained them on his own responsibility. He sought to pacify the trustees by praising the industry of the newcomers and giving a detailed account of the noble services of Dr. Nunez, one of the settlers, a wealthy refugee from the Portuguese Inquisition, whose generous ministering to the sick in the Colony had excited

¹An instance of this feeling is mentioned by Picciotto (Sketches, pp. 157-8). It was just about this time that Jacob Bernal of London desired to marry a German lady. The Congregation for a long time withheld its consent and finally gave it only on certain very humiliating conditions. No Minister was to be present at the ceremony, the bridegroom was not to be called up to the law, and no Synagogue celebration to take place.

²See paper in I, *Occident*, p. 381, &c. Comp. Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c.

³See Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 153. See also White's *Historical Collections*, 328, &c. See *A History of Georgia*, by Rev. William Bacon Stevens (1847), vol. I, p. 102.

Oglethorpe's admiration.¹ The trustees replied coldly, stating that Dr. Nunez ought to be compensated for his services if they were deserving, but that the Jews should have no lands allotted them in the Colony.² Oglethorpe, however, did not act on these instructions; he who had once taken the liberty of throwing a glass of wine into the face of Prince Eugene of Savoy,³ had sufficient pluck to contravene the desires of the trustees, when by obeying he was obliged to lose some of the best settlers in the Colony.⁴

Later on, if it be permitted to digress, it appears that Oglethorpe repeatedly contravened the desires of the trustees. Thus on one occasion, the latter sent £200 to be given to "Abraham De Leon, the Jew, to assist him in the cultivation of vines." When De Leon applied for the money, the record states that "Mr. Oglethorpe did not deny receiving £200, but said he could not advance more than 20 or 30£ in regard he had other uses for the money and so that design dropped."⁵

The writer ventures to give again the names of the first Jewish settlers of whom mention is made. These, however, comprise the Portuguese or Sephardic element only, and the excuse for giving the names is, because the full Portuguese name, in many cases, has never before been given and is not even found in Sheftall's narrative. They are as follows: Dr. Samuel Nunez Ribiero, also known as Dr. Nunez; Sipra

¹ See Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, pp. 154-155; Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. I, p. 102.

² See Jones' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 155. Stevens' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 102.

³ Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Murray's edition, 1851) Vol. 3, pp. 217, 218.

⁴ Stevens' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 103.

⁵ *Tracts and other Papers relating principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies of North America*. Collected by Peter Force (1836). Vol. 1, p. 27.

See also Tailfer's *True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia* (1741), p. 27, &c. "That they remitted the two hundred pounds by Mr. Oglethorpe for his use, which he did not deny, when applied to by the said Leon for the same."

Nunez Ribiero, his mother, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Daniel Nunez Ribiero, Shem Noah, Isaac Nunes Henriques, his wife and son, Raphael Bernal and wife, David De Olivera and wife, Jacob Lopez De Olivera and wife, his children, David, Isaac and Leah De Olivera, Aaron Depivea, Benjamin Gideon, Jacob Lopez De Crasto, David Lopez De Pas and wife, Mr. Vene Real, probably Villareal, Mr. Molena, David Moranda, Jacob Moranda, David Cohen Del Monte and wife, Isaac Cohen Del Monte, their son, Abigail, Hannah and Grace Del Monte; their daughters, Abraham Minis and wife, Leah and Esther, their daughters, Simeon Minis, Jacob Yowel, Benjamin Sheftall and wife and Abraham De Lyon.¹

In a paper by Mr. N. Taylor Phillips, it is also stated that David Mendes Machado came from Lisbon with Dr. Nunez and married the doctor's daughter shortly after his arrival.² But the records contain no allusion to either Machado or any daughter of Dr. Nunez. It is possible, however, that they arrived subsequently, as several additional Portuguese Jews seem to have arrived a few months after the original settlers.³

It is stated by several authorities, that Oglethorpe made

¹These names and their spelling have been taken as far as possible from the original sources, namely, the original deed, the *Journal of the Trustees*, and other contemporary records. See also White's *Statistics*, p. 101. Compare also article by a "Southern Jew," 1, *Occident*, p. 247. Article by Mr. Sheftall. *Id.*, p. 381. It has already been stated that the name of Abraham De Lyon is indiscriminately spelt De Lyon, De Leon, or simply Leon, in contemporary records.

²See paper on *David Mendez Machado*, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, in 1, *Amer. J. Historical Society Publications*, p. 45.

³See Sheftall paper in *Occident*, 1, p. 381, &c. The names of several Jews not mentioned among the first arrivals appear shortly afterward in the early colonial records. Several of these new names also appear in the original deed which was made within a few months after the first mention of Jewish settlers. See Deed and Schedule.

A detailed description of this voyage may be found in 1, *Occi-*

allotments of land to all of the Jewish settlers.¹ But this statement seems to be without foundation. Not only had the trustees forbidden Oglethorpe to make such allotments, but the names of none of the German Jews appear in the original deed. The most probable view is, that those Jews to whom allotments were made, bought the land allotted with their own money, the Portuguese settlers being possessed of means and not in any manner dependent upon charity.

Thus Samuel Nunez Ribiero, or Dr. Nunez, as he is most frequently called, was a wealthy physician in Portugal, and a most interesting and romantic account of his escape from the Inquisition and of his many adventures before coming to Georgia has been written by the late Judge Noah and may be found in White's *Statistics*.² From this it appears that he had no need of charity whatever, and on the contrary brought means with him to America.³ Some of the silver and plate which he brought is still in the possession of the family.⁴

The majority of the Sephardic contingent had not even lived a great while in England, but were, as has been stated, direct refugees from the Inquisition in Portugal.⁵

dent, p. 381, &c. The vessel was almost wrecked off North Carolina, and the settlers remained at New Inlet for several weeks before proceeding to Savannah. It is quite probable that several of the company remained behind and came on shortly afterward, which would account for appearance of the additional names within so short a period. The original Journal kept by Benjamin Sheftall, only a portion of which has ever been made public, is, I am informed, in the possession of Miss Sally Sheftall, of Savannah.

¹ See vol. 1 of Force's *Historical Collections*, p. 21. Also note to Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c., pp. 21, 22. Also 1, *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

² *Statistics of Georgia*, by George White, 1849, pp. 101, 619. Compare paper on David Mendez Machado, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 2, p. 46.

³ White's *Statistics*, p. 620.

⁴ See paper on David Mendez Machado, by Hon. N. T. Phillips, *Pub. No. 2*, p. 47.

⁵ This appears from the references in the Trustees' minutes.

Also the reference contained therein to the Inquisition itself.

The names of the German Jews who came to Georgia nowhere appear in the records. They seem to have been poor and were sent over by Salvador and his colleagues. That they were in the Colony, however, and that they lived apart from the Portuguese settlers amply appears from the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, a Protestant Clergyman who arrived in Georgia with a number of Protestant refugees from Salzburg in 1734.¹ His Journal describes the kindly reception given to his flock by the Jews of Georgia,² and under date March 14th, 1734, appears the following entry: "The Jews likewise of which there are twelve families here come to church and seem to be very devout. They understand the German tongue."³ Under date March 20th, 1734,

The statement is also borne out by the sketches of individual settlers like Dr. Nunez, Abraham De Lyon and others. Compare also paper on David Mendez Machado, by Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, *Pub. No. 2*, p. 47.

¹ "An extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck, who conducted the first transport of Salzburghers to Georgia, and of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, one of their ministers, giving an Account of their Voyage to and Happy Settlement in that Province." Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London, 1734. See also White's *Historical Collections*, p. 436.

² Bolzius *Journal*, p. 20, 26, &c. See also Force's *Historical Collections*, vol. IV, p. 20, &c. Some of the instances are related in Mr. Jones' paper, *Pub. No. 1*, p. 9.

Among the instances given is one that "on the arrival of the Salzburghers, a Jew invited them for breakfast and showed them many kindnesses." On another occasion Bolzius says of the Jews of Georgia, "They are so honest and faithful, that the like is hardly to be found."

This *Journal* or "Reise Diarium" is one of the great sources of information about early Georgia. Only a few fragments from it have been translated or used heretofore. It is contained with much other material in an exceedingly voluminous German publication entitled *Ausführliche Nachrichten von den Salzburgerischen Emigranten die sich in America niedergelassen haben*, Herausgegeben von Samuel Urlsperger. Halle MDCCXXXV, &c. I shall refer to these volumes hereafter as *Urlsperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*. For above, see Vol. 1, p. 82.

³ Bolzius' *Journal* under date March 13, 1734, p. 20. Also Force's

the following appears: "Because these Jews show a great love for us, and have promised to see us at our settlement, we hope we will preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ to them with good success. They are both born in Germany and speak good German."¹

These statements manifestly do not refer to the Portuguese Jews. Bolzcius at first absolutely ignores the Portuguese element and most naturally, too. The Portuguese could not speak the German language and lived apart from the others. On the other hand he could most easily pick up acquaintance with and learn the history of those who spoke his own tongue.

Later on, however, the German Jews seem to have become quite influential, and the Rev. Mr. Bolzcius speaks of both the Portuguese and German elements as distinct and separate classes. This appears from the following extract from a letter dated July 3rd, 1739, written by him from Eben Ezer, in Georgia, to a friend in Germany.

"We are close to the Spaniards and on account of such dangerous proximity, care is taken to keep down negro slaves and the Roman Catholics. With these exceptions all sects and all kinds of people are tolerated and are permitted to enjoy all manner of liberty like native Englishmen. Even the Jews of whom several families are here already, enjoy all privileges the same as other Colonists. Some call themselves Spanish and Portuguese, others call themselves German Jews. The latter speak High German and differ from the former in their religious services and to some extent in other matters as well, as the former do not

Historical Collections, IV, p. 20. See also Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten* under date March 14, 1734, Vol. 1, p. 83.

¹ An extract from the Journal of Rev. Mr. Bolzcius. Date, March 20, 1734. See also Force's *Collections*, Vol. 4, p. 26. See also *Url-sperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c., Vol. 1, p. 90. The German original, however, seems only to refer to a certain Jew and his wife. Of these he says, "This Jew and his wife have been most obliging to the Saltzburgers, and they are so sincere and

seem to take it so particular in regard to the dietary laws and other Jewish ceremonies. They have no Synagogue, which is their own fault; the one element hindering the other in this regard. The German Jews believe themselves entitled to build a Synagogue and are willing to allow the Spanish Jews to use it with them in common, the latter, however, reject any such arrangement and demand the preference for themselves.”¹

As a matter of fact, we are told, that in 1733 the Jews constituted one-third of the entire population.²

Despite the statement in a note to Tailfer's *True Narrative of Georgia*, published in 1741, that “all the Jews received land,”³ this seems not to have been the case. As already stated, it is most likely that those who obtained land paid for it. This surmise is amply borne out by the first deed, which was made some months after the arrival of the Jews and gives all allotments from the very beginning.⁴ In the

upright that one might look in vain for their like among others of their race and among a good many Christians as well.” He then gives examples of their model honesty.

It may be interesting to note too that the Saltzburgers themselves brought with them a converted German Jew. This individual originally bore the name of Salomon Lévi, he became a Christian at Augsburg, Germany, and received the name Johann Gottfried Christ; under which name he is referred to in the Journal. See *Urlisperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*. Vol. I. pp. 667, 781, 1044, 2564. Vol. 2, pp. 429, 900, 935, 954, 1849-50, 1829, 1858, 2019. He died before 1747. Vol. III, p. 261.

¹ *Urlisperger's Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c. Vol. 1, p. 2277. In this connection it may not be amiss to call attention to another curious note in the Journal, bearing date Savannah, March 23, 1734. “There are Jews here who do not observe the Jewish regulations as to food and the Sabbath. There are several real fine characters among them.” *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, p. 215.

² See Mr. Sheftall's paper. *Occident* 1. 381, &c.

³ See Force's *Historical Collections*, Vol. 1, p. 21. Tailfer's *True Narrative*, p. 21, &c.

⁴ The original allotment was made July 7, 1733, and other allotments were made within the next few months. The deed referred to was made several months thereafter and confirmed all preceding

first place, this deed contains names of Portuguese Jews only, not a single German being mentioned therein, with the exception of Mr. Sheftall, who was a native of Bavaria and had probably lived for some time in England, where he became affiliated with the Sephardic rather than the German element.¹ Only thirteen Jewish names appear in the deed referred to, and not all those mentioned received the same proportion of land. On the contrary, many of these Portuguese Jews were allotted more farms than were given to any of the Christians, with one or two exceptions. However generous Oglethorpe may have been, it is unreasonable to suppose that he would have favored the Jews in making allotments of land gratis and give to them more than to native Englishmen. But, on the other hand, it is reasonable to suppose that he was willing to sell them all the land they wanted, provided they paid for it.²

The Jewish names mentioned in the original deed are: Isaac Nunes Henriques, Moses le Desma, Samuel Nunez Ribiero, Moses Nunez Ribiero, Jacob Lopez de Olivera, Isaac de Val, David Cohen Del Monte, Benjamin Sheftall, Abraham Nunez Monte Santo, Jacob Yowel, Abraham Minis, Jacob Lopez de Crasto and David de Pas.³

Mr. Nunez received six farms, Henriques seven, Le Desma ten, and in the same tithing, only in one instance did a Christian receive as many as nine farms. Again, in another ward, D'Olivera received seven farms, and David Cohen Del Monte thirty. That was actually three times as many as

allotments. A copy of the deed and its annexed schedule may be found in Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 158.

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. D. Harby, of Charleston, for the information that Benjamin Sheftall came from Bavaria.

² This is also borne out by the remark of Stevens, the historian. He praises the industry of the Jewish settlers, who, he says, "asking for no charity, clamorous for no peculiar privileges, demanded from the trustees nothing but the freeholds which their money purchased." See Stevens' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 104.

³ See Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 158, &c.

were allowed to any single Christian in the entire Colony.¹ It should be noted also, that the Jews' lots were not all in one district, but that they were represented in nearly every district.

From the deed also, we learn that some Jews came into the Colony during the few months intervening between the original settlement and the date of the deed. Three new names appear in the deed, namely, Isaac De Val, Moses le Desma and Abraham Nunez Monte Santo.²

It is curious to note too, that in "*Tailfer's True Narrative*," published in 1741, the statement appears, that "the Jews flocked to Georgia attracted by the temptation of inheritances."³ Allotments must have been made subsequently to others, for in 1735 Abraham De Lyon is repeatedly described as a freeholder of Savannah.⁴

That the Jews were allowed to remain in the Colony was not however due to Oglethorpe's generosity alone. There was one reason which undoubtedly influenced him to retain them and which, in all likelihood subsequently influenced the Trustees as well. I refer to the fact, that from the start the trustees intended to make Georgia a silk raising and wine producing country. This appears constantly on their records as well as in their advertisements to proposing settlers.⁵ In both the industries mentioned, the Sephardic Jews of that day excelled. It is but necessary to allude in this connec-

¹ See Deed and Schedule as given in Jones' *History*, vol. 1, p. 158, &c.

² See Deed and Schedule as given in Jones' *History* I, p. 158 &c.

³ A *True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America* by Patrick Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. D., Dr. Douglas and others. Charlestown 1741 p. 19. See also Force's *Historical Collections* I, p. 19.

⁴ See *History of Georgia* by Hugh McCall, 1816, Vol. 1, p. 58. McCall spells the name DeLeon.

⁵ *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People* by George Gillman Smith p. 14. See also Tailfer's *True Narrative* above referred to, p. 20 &c 38, 39 &c and also the Trustees' *Minutes*. (Wormloe). See also *Brief Account of the Establishment of Georgia* in I, Forces' *Historical Collections* II.

tion to the extensive grape cultivation started in the Colony by Abraham De Lyon, one of the Portuguese settlers and to whom a portion of Mr. Jones' paper is devoted.¹ It appears subsequently in the records of the trustees, that they assisted him with money to cultivate his vineyard on a larger scale.²

It may indeed have been this very feature of making Georgia a wine producing and silk raising country that induced these very Portuguese Jewish refugees to go to Georgia rather than to any of the other Colonies. The fact was extensively advertised by the trustees, and while these refugees were not assisted by the London Congregation, it is quite likely that they were advised to go to the New Colony as it afforded them opportunities in this direction. Theoretically too, Georgia must have appealed to these refugees more than any of the other Colonies. Liberty of conscience and of worship was guaranteed to all save Papists. The industries that the trustees wanted to foster were the very ones in which they excelled and in addition, the accounts of the climate and soil set forth in the advertisements were so glowing as to appeal particularly to natives of a Southern clime.³ The following is taken from one of the earliest pamphlets describing Georgia: "Nature has not blessed the world with any tract which can be preferable to it. Paradise with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed at most, but equal to its native excellencies. It lies in the same latitude with Palestine her-

¹ *Amer. Jew. Hist. Pub.*, No. 1, p. 9-10. Also Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. 1 p. 378. See also Tailfer's *True Narrative*, p. 27. McCall, *History of Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 58. *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, London 1742, vol. 1, pp. 48-50. Also *An Impartial Inquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia 1741*, pp. 21-22.

² See "Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia, by Benjamin Martyn, 1742, p. 24. Also Telfair's *True Narrative*, p. 27 &c. See also *Trustees' Minutes*.

An interesting account of Mr. De Lyon's skill and success in vine raising may be found in Stephens *Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia*, vol. 1, p. 48.

³ See *The Story of Georgia* &c. by George G. Smith at p. 6.

self, that promised Canaan, which was pointed out by God's own choice to bless the labors of a favorite people."¹

In 1734 the Lutheran refugees from Salzburg came into the colony, and it is from their records alone that we learn anything about the German Jews. I shall merely allude generally to the kindly treatment received by these Christians from the Jews, as this subject has already been treated in Mr. Jones' paper; but one curious reference which that distinguished historian seems to have overlooked I venture to give in full. It reads "The Jew of whom mention has been made above has shown us and the Salzburgers so much goodness, that we could desire no more, and though we offered him a sum of money for his labors, he refused to accept of it. Wherefore the Salzburgers who are still here resolve to till his ground and to clear it of trees and so make good again what he hath neglected for their sake."²

The Jews generally however, applied themselves not only to the wine and silk industries but to general agricultural and commercial pursuits as well.³ There being no discrimination against Jews in matters of trade, we find that as early as 1737, Mr. Minis is mentioned as a storekeeper in Savannah.⁴

In one of the early narratives it is stated that when Dr. Nunez heard of the uncivil reply of the trustees, he promptly

¹This was issued long before the Colony was actually founded, but it is fairly characteristic of many of the subsequent advertisements. See *A Discourse Concerning the Design'd Establishment of a New Colony* by Sir Robert Mountgomery, Baronet, London, 1717. See also Jones' *History of Georgia* I, p. 71.

²*Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bolzium* (1734), p. 28. (Under date April 3, 1734.) See also Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten* &c. Vol. 1, p. 97.

³We are informed that the principal importer and merchant of the Colony was an Israelite with whom Oglethorpe and the Trustees had dealings to a large amount. See Stevens' *History of Georgia* I, 103.

⁴*Smiths' Story of Georgia*, &c. p. 517.

left the Colony.¹ If this was so, however, his absence was merely of short duration, for he subsequently frequently appears in the records of the trustees.²

The statement is also pretty generally made, that the illiberal policy of the trustees toward the Jews induced the latter to leave Georgia and go to Charlestown. This statement is incorrect. The reasons which ultimately induced most of the Jews to leave the colony had nothing whatever to do with religious prejudice. As a matter of fact, in departing from Georgia, they did no more than a great many Christians did, and for the same reason, as will be pointed out hereafter.

Before going further, however, some mention should be made of the religious life of these early settlers. During the very month of their arrival, they decided to open a synagogue under the name "Mikveh Israel," and rented a house in Market Square for the purpose.³ They had brought with them a "Sepher Torah," the gift of a Mr. Lindo, of London, and soon established their congregation on a permanent basis. In 1737, as appears from the Sheftall manuscript, Mr. Benjamin Mendez, of London, sent them a "Sepher Torah," a Chanuca lamp and books, all of which were delivered to the congregation by Mr. Isaac de Cunica, who had brought them.⁴

This congregation continued until 1740 when it was dissolved owing to the removal of the majority of its members from the Colony.

¹ See *Historic and Picturesque Savannah*, by Adelaide Wilson. — p. 238, where a like statement is made.

² See *Journal of Trustees*, 260, &c.

³ See *Historic and Picturesque Savannah*, by Adelaide Wilson, p. 96. Also White's *Statistics*, p. 101.

Also Mr. Sheftall's paper in I, *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

Stevens' *History of Georgia*. I, p. 370, &c.

⁴ Paper by Mr. Sheftall, *Occident*, I, 384, &c. There can be no doubt about the above statement. The quotation heretofore given from the letter of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius refers only to the building of a synagogue.

The first Jewish child to be born in Georgia was Philip Minis, who was born at Savannah July 11, 1734, about a year and a half after the founding of the Colony. Mordecai Sheftall, who subsequently became one of the prominent patriots of the Revolution, was born in 1735, and his brother, Levi Sheftall, in 1739.¹

Some of the Jewish settlers who came to Georgia within a year or two after the original settlement, appear to have come from or at any rate to have been in South America. One interesting instance of this is found in connection with the founding of the town of Frederica by Oglethorpe. Oglethorpe himself superintended the beginning of the new settlement, and the ancient account of the foundation of Frederica reads: "Mr. Oglethorpe had divided the Colonists into parties; one cut forks, poles and laths for building the bowers, another set them up, a third fetched palmetto leaves, a fourth thatched, and a Jew workman bred in Brazil and had come from Savannah taught them to do this nimbly and in a neat manner."²

It has already been mentioned that the trustees desired to make a model Colony of the settlement. In their efforts so to do, they adopted several very illiberal measures for those days, and put all sorts of commercial restrictions upon the settlers. One feature in particular created much discontent during their management. That was that negro slavery was absolutely prohibited in the Colony from the very start.³ It was this feature that seems to have borne

¹See Mr. Sheftall's paper in *Occident*, 1, p. 381, &c. All of those named figured subsequently in the Revolutionary War.

²*A Voyage to Georgia begun in the Year 1735*, by Francis Moore. London, 1744, p. 114. See also *Georgia Historical Society Publications*. Vol. 1, p. 114, &c.

Also *The Dead Towns of Georgia*, by C. C. Jones. (Savannah, 1878), p. 54.

³For an Account of these Restrictions and grievances, see Tailfer's *True Narrative*, p. 21, &c. Also vol. 1 of Force's *Historical Collections*, p. 21, &c.

See also *Reise Diarium des Herrn von Reck*, given in Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*. Vol. 1, p. 814.

more severely on the settlers of Georgia than it might have done elsewhere, in view of the fact that in all the other Colonies slavery was then an established institution and in neighboring South Carolina most of the manual labor was performed by negro slaves. So it happens, that throughout the whole of this period, we find the Christian settlers pouring in petition after petition, to be allowed to hold slaves. Another feature which seems to have been a constant source of grievance, was the fact that alienation of property was not permitted.¹

In an exceedingly rare work called *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for the Establishment of the Colony of Georgia in America*, by the Rt. Hon. John, Earl of Egmont, the following entries appear in this connection :

On December 9, 1738, Oglethorpe writes : "A very saucy memorial was signed by one hundred and eighteen freeholders and landholders of Savannah town and the Northern division of the province, to obtain the use of negroes and the liberty of selling their lands as well. I made observation on their several characters."² The petition referred to is given in full in Force's collection³ and also in Tailfer's *True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia*, which was published in South Carolina in 1741.⁴ Following it comes this comment by Tailfer : "The Jews applied for liberty to sign with us, but we did not think it proper to join with them in any of our measures."⁵

Following the refusal of the Trustees to comply with the prayer of the petition, there seems to have been a general

¹ See citations given above. Also *Journal of the Trustees, &c.*

² *A Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America.* By the Right Hon. John, Earl of Egmont. Printed for Mrs. Mary De Renne as a memorial to her husband. (Wormloe, 1896.) The edition was limited to 49 copies, one of which is at the Lenox Library, N. Y. See, for above, p. 30.

³ Force's *Historical Collections.* Vol. 1, p. 41, 42.

⁴ Tailfer's *True Narrative, &c.*, p. 42.

⁵ Tailfer's *True Narrative, &c.*, p. 42. Also Force's *Historical Collections*, 1, p. 42.

exodus from the Colony, by the Christian settlers as well as by the Jews. This abundantly appears from the entries in the records of the Trustees. In fact, Tailfer, one of the authors of the *True Narrative* was among the number. The work, though dedicated to Oglethorpe was printed at Charlestown, S. C. in 1741. On the title page the authors, Tailfer, Anderson and Douglas, describe themselves as "landholders in Georgia, at present in Charlestown, in South Carolina."¹

On August 31st, 1740, the following entry appears in the Journal of the Trustees. "Dr. Nunez, Daniel his son and De Lyon's wife, all Jews, went off."²

The Jews, therefore, seem by no means to have been the only ones who left the Colony. In fact the Christian settlers appear to have led the way.

The desire to introduce negro slavery was a very general one at the time,³ and had the entire support of the Christian clergy of Georgia, even that of Whitefield, the celebrated preacher. Under date April, 1741, the following entry appears in the Trustees' minutes: "It is stated that Mr. Whitefield is for allowing negroes into the Colony, and if examined, would declare his opinion that way."⁴

In the same Journal, May, 1741, is found the following: "Account of Isaac Nunez Henriques. Loss by cultivation came also. He and others complained that Mr. Thomas Jones refused to pay them the promised bounty on corn."⁵

In April 1741, the Trustees' Minutes contain a very curious entry. It reads "That all the Jews except one had left the Colony, which he heard was owing to a report, that

¹ Tailfer's *True Narrative*, &c., p. 42. Also Force's *Historical Collections*, 1, p. 42.

² *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees for Establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*, &c., p. 260.

³ The only exception was in the case of the Saltzburgers, who, however, did not object to the principles of negro slavery, but opposed rather because they did not care to live in the same place with negroes. See Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*.

⁴ *Journal of the Trustees*, &c., p. 320.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 270.

the Inquisition of Portugal had been ordered not to disturb them and they were supposed to be returning thither."¹

From this it would appear that some such rumor was current at the time and the entry also shows that it was commonly known that most of the settlers like Nunez and De Lyon were natives of Portugal and refugees from religious persecution. The rumor, however, was probably without foundation, and certain it is, that it was not the true reason for the Jews' departure. Their reason being simply the same as the reason in the case of their Christian fellow settlers: the illiberal policy of the trustees and the more liberal commercial conditions in South Carolina. Nor is the entry that only one Jew remained quite correct, for in July of the same year we find again, that the Jews offered to sign a certain petition but were refused.² This, however, is followed by another entry which shows that the majority of Jews had left Savannah.³ In July, 1741, the Journal recites "On the West side of Savannah lies the Township lots of the Jews, all gone to other Colonies except three or four."⁴ But Tailfer's *Narrative* which contains a similar statement, follows it with the remark "That all the other settlers in that quarter had left as well, except one or two."⁵

Most of the Jews, as well as most of the Christian settlers who left Georgia at that period, seem to have gone to South Carolina. In 1750, when the Jewish Synagogue of Charlestown was founded, we find among its original members the names of some of the Georgia Colonists. Among others, David De Olivera, Mordecai and Levi Sheftall.⁶

Some went to the other Colonies, particularly to New York and Pennsylvania. Thus Isaac Nunez Henriques appears to

¹ *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees, &c.*, p. 336.

² *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees, &c.*, p. 356.

³ *Id.*, p. 358.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 358.

⁵ Tailfer's *True Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*, p. 75. See also Force's *Historical Collections*, vol. 1, p. 75, &c.

⁶ See *Charleston Year Book*, 1883, p. 315, &c. Also Daly's *History of Settlement of Jews in North America*, 76, &c. Also *Occident*, vol. 1, p. 337, &c.

have gone to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and he and Joseph Simons of that settlement are named in the deed to the Jewish cemetery of Lancaster, as Trustees, in 1747. The name in the deed is misspelt, however, appearing as "Isaac Nunez Ricus."¹ This gentleman subsequently went to New York, where his name appears a few years later on the roll of freemen.²

But most of these emigrés returned to Georgia with a majority of the Christian settlers within a few months after their departure, while others, like Mordecai and Levi Sheftall, remained in Carolina for several years before returning.³

In the *Trustees' Journal* we find the following entry, dated October, 1741. "That there are various reports that negroes had at last been allowed in the Colony, upon which the Jews and divers others were preparing to return to the Colony."⁴ Abraham Minis seems to have been one of those who probably remained throughout the entire period. In April, 1742, an entry records "Abraham Minis; paid 20 sh. for the loss of his boat."⁵ In August of that year mention is made of a Dutch servant named Samuel Lyon.⁶ In April, 1743, appears the confirmation of the "purchase of the lot of Daniel Nunez by Isaac Young."⁷

Certain it is, however, that most of the Jewish settlers returned to Georgia long before 1750, and in addition, many decidedly Jewish names appear in the list of persons to whom "Headrights" were granted between that date and

¹ Markens, *The Hebrews in America*, p. 83.

² See Civil Status of Jews in Colonial New York, by Max J. Kohler in *Pub.*, No. 6, p. 103; cf. *Ibid.* No. 2, pp. 48-49. Also paper on the Naturalization Act of 1740, by Dr. Hollander in *Ibid.* No. 5, p. 117.

³ Both these gentlemen were among the founders of the South Carolina Congregation in 1750. See *Charleston Year Book*, 1883, p. 315, &c.

⁴ *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees, &c.*, p. 378.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 418.

⁶ *Id.*, pp. 450, 452. I am not sure whether this individual was a Jew.

⁷ *Id.*, pp. 470, 472.

1760. Among others the following are found in this list: H. Myers,¹ Samuel Leon,² David Goodman,³ Samuel Lyon,⁴ Levi Marks,⁵ Aaron Morris,⁶ Moses Nunez,⁷ Joseph Ottolenghi,⁸ J. Revera,⁹ D. Revera,¹⁰ Benjamin Sheftall,¹¹ Mordecai Sheftall,¹² Leah Sheftall,¹³ Levi Sheftall,¹⁴ Samuel Simons,¹⁵ David Vallaton.¹⁶ With regard to the last named, it may be stated here, that he became one of the patriot soldiers in the American Revolution, and is mentioned in the Journal of Mordecai Sheftall. His name appears in various forms as David Valentonge, David Moses Valentonge, David Moses Vollaton and David Moses Valentin.¹⁷ It is likely, perhaps, that he was the ancestor of the Valentine family, members of which subsequently played a prominent part in synagogue affairs in the South.¹⁸

Outside of Savannah there were Jews in various parts of the Colony. Mention is made of several residing in Eben Ezer with the Salzburgers. The German Lutherans also tried to cultivate the vine and among them likewise, a Jew seems to have been prominent in this regard, as appears from the following entry in the Journal of the Rev. Mr. Bolzius under date February 4th, 1742.

After dilating upon the difficulties of establishing the vine industry at Eben Ezer the writer remarks :

"A Jew who has moved to New York has indeed succeeded in raising a splendid number of good vines at two places, namely, in town and on his plantation. No one, however,

¹ *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, by George G. Smith. Appendix, p. 557. (1752.) ² *Id.* (1754). ³ *Id.*, p. 575.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 585.

⁵ *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People*, by George G. Smith. Appendix, p. 587. (1752.) ⁶ *Id.*, p. 588. ⁷ *Id.*, p. 591.

⁸ *Id.*, p. 593.

⁹ *Id.*, p. 596.

¹⁰ *Id.*, p. 596.

¹¹ *Id.*, p. 599.

¹² *Id.*, p. 599.

¹³ *Id.*, p. 599.

¹⁴ *Id.*, p. 600.

¹⁵ *Id.*, p. 602.

¹⁶ *Id.*, p. 605.

¹⁷ See White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, pp. 340, 341. See also paper by present writer in *Jewish Comment* of Baltimore, Nov. 9, 16, 1900.

¹⁸ See early volumes of *Occident*, 1-16, for references.

has authority to dispose of them, and it is believed that he is coming back after a while. In the meantime, all this property is being taken care of by one of the servants of the Trustee, at the owner's expense."¹

Shortly thereafter, Jews are likewise mentioned on the occasion of the inroads of the Spaniards into Georgia. In Mr. Bolzius' diary appears the following entry dated July 24th, 1742: "Last night a ship full of English women and children, among whom was also a Jewish family, sailed back to Savannah."²

Among those to whom land was allotted at Sunbury in 1758 is found the name of Isaac Linder,³ but there is nothing to indicate whether he was a Hebrew. Abraham Minis one of the original settlers died at Savannah in 1757.⁴

It has already been mentioned, that the Trustees were anxious to make Georgia a silk producing Colony. In this connection it may not be amiss to note the following curious entry in the Journal of the Trustees under date August 1741. It reads "That the samples of the silk, the product of Georgia was come to Sampson Levi, the Jew, to know the value of it in England in order to encourage the raising it in Georgia. That Captain Gough and many others of the City had seen it, and account it in high esteem and are of the opinion that the Colony should be duly encouraged to produce it."⁵

Later on, in 1751, the Trustees sent over Joseph Ottolenghi to superintend the silk industry in the Colony. Mr. Ottolenghi in all likelihood was the ancestor or related to several gentlemen of that name who figured prominently in

¹ Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten* &c. Vol. 2, p. 1855.

² Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c. Vol. 2, p. 1261.

³ Smith *The Story of Georgia*, &c., p. 46.

⁴ See Mr. Sheftall's paper, 1 *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

⁵ *Journal of the Transactions of the Trustees*, &c., p. 364.

As to the progress of the silk industry, see also Urlsperger's *Ausführliche Nachrichten*, &c. Vol. 3, p. 352, 484-5, &c.

the early Synagogue records of both Savannah and Charleston, particularly in the latter.¹

In 1743 the records show an allotment of land to Simon Minis, and in 1753,² three hundred acres are given to Joseph Ottolenghe,³ while additional allotments are made to Samuel Leon and to a Mr. Hirsh.⁴ At a later date, as we shall find, Joseph Ottolenghi occupied a prominent position in Colonial affairs.

Any history of Georgia would be incomplete, without recording an event, which took place in 1750 and which has always been emphasized by the historians of that State. In that year, five gentlemen all of different denominations, joined in forming a society for charitable purposes. That society is still in existence, and has wielded a most powerful influence for good in the early social history of the State. It has educated some thousands of orphans, and has at all times been regarded as the representative charitable organization of Savannah. Its name is the "Union Society" and it was so named because its five founders, though of widely different religious denominations, were all *united* on the broad ground of the brotherhood of man. The names of but three of the founders have been preserved. They are Benjamin Sheftall, a Jew, Peter Tondee, a Catholic, and Richard Milledge, an Episcopalian.⁵

¹ See *Charleston Year Book* 1883, p. 315.

In this volume also will be found an account of the building of the new synagogue at Charleston in 1840. In this connection it is stated that Mr. A. Ottolenghi "deposited the stone for his father in the new synagogue." This Mr. Ottolenghi was President of the Charleston Congregation 1842-45 and 1846-1850.

² White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, p. 32.

³ *Id.*

⁴ *Id.*

⁵ See *Minutes of the Union Society being an Abstract of Existing Records*, Savannah 1860, pp. 126, 113, 123. See also *Appendices* 1 and 2. Benjamin Sheftall is also praised as one of the founders of the Society in an address on the Union Society by Rev. Willard Preston 1833.

See also *Census of the City of Savannah together with Statistics* by

Benjamin Sheftall, we are informed, was a man of broad charity, and was also distinguished for his decided anti-slavery views.¹ He died at Savannah in 1767.² His sons Levi and Mordecai Sheftall became prominent in Revolutionary times and both were enrolled as members of the Union Society at an early date.³

It was doubtless due to the Jewish settlers, in part also that the Colony could boast of a library as early as 1751. From the nature of the collection it is not unreasonable to suppose that they were partly instrumental in establishing that institution, of which De Brahm writes in 1751, that it contained "a fine lot of books written in Caldaic, Hebrew, Arabic, Dutch and Spanish."⁴

By far the most prominent character among the Jews of Colonial Georgia, appears to have been Joseph Ottolenghi.⁵ He seems to have been consulted by the Governor and Assembly on several occasions, though at first only in connection with his office of superintendent of the silk industry in the Colony. Thus in 1754 Governor Reynolds writes to the Lords Commissioners "I have given orders with the advice of the Council to fit up the shell of a house which was lately built for the laying up of silk, but was never made use of, being ill calculated for that purpose, as Mr. Ottolenghi informs me, wherefore he says he has no further use for it,

Joseph Bancroft 1848, p. 45. Also *Historic and Picturesque Savannah* by Adelaide Wilson, Boston 1899. pp. 27, 28.

¹ Markens, *The Hebrews in America*. p. 49.

² See Mr. Sheftall's paper in 1 *Occident* p. 381 &c.

³ See paper on *Mordecai Sheftall* by the present writer in *Jewish Comment*, Baltimore, Nov. 9 & 16, 1900. Also Heitman's *Historical Register of Officers in the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution*, &c. p. 363. Also Markens *Hebrews in America*. p. 72. Also *Minutes of the Union Society*, p. 58, &c.

⁴ See De Brahm's *History of the Province of Georgia*, (Reprint Wormloe, 1849) p. 24. See also Jones' *History of Georgia*, I, p. 377.

⁵ Since this paper was prepared, the writer has discovered that Joseph Ottolenghi (or Ottolenghe) can be regarded as a Jew by race only. He was born in Italy where his parents were engaged in the silk industry. Emigrating to England, both he and his wife

but it will make a tolerable good house for the Council and Assembly to meet in.”¹

In 1761 Governor James Wright, who was by far the ablest man who had ever been Governor of Georgia, “surrounded himself with a wise Council and made himself fully acquainted with the needs of the growing Colony.” He issued writs of election and Joseph Ottolenghi was elected a member of the Assembly. He remained a member of the Assembly until 1765.²

Nor was Mr. Ottolenghi the only person of Jewish race to hold office in Colonial Georgia. In 1768, Moses Nunez appears to have been Searcher for the port of Savannah,³ and a Mr. Lucena is mentioned as a Justice of the Peace.⁴ Moses Nunez appears also to have held the office of Indian Interpreter for the Government and seems to have been an authority on Indian affairs generally.⁵

became converts to Christianity, joining the Episcopal Church. He was sent to Georgia originally as a missionary to the negroes, and incidentally to superintend the silk industry, which subsequently became his chief occupation. He is described as a man of culture and refinement, speaking English fluently and well versed in Oriental languages. See *Americanisches Ackerwerk Gottes &c.* Herausgegeben von Samuel Urlsperger. Augsburg, MDCCLIII, pp. 50-61, &c.

¹ See Jones' *History of Georgia*. Vol. I, p. 469.

² *The Story of Georgia and the Georgia People* by George Gilman Smith, p. 53.

Stevens History of Georgia. Vol. I, p. 445.

The History of Georgia, &c. by Hugh McCall, p. 285.

Jones' *History of Georgia*. Vol. II, p. 50.

³ White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, p. 38. See also Smith's *Story of Georgia, &c.* p. 70.

There seems to have been no obstacle to Jews holding office in the colony. Although the Church of England was established, an act had been passed at an early date by which dissenters were not required to take an oath before the courts in any way objectionable to them, and there was no interference whatever with their religious privileges. See Smith's *Story of Georgia &c.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Id.* Smith, p. 70.

⁵ Vol. III, of *Georgia Historical Society Publications*, p. 252.

As early as 1765 his name is found appended to a petition of the inhabitants of Augusta, to Governor Reynolds, which sets forth their danger from the Indians and the defenseless state of the town.¹

He retained the office of Indian Interpreter as late as 1779, and that of Searcher for Savannah as late as 1774.² His name appears frequently in the correspondence of Sir James Wright, the last royal governor of the province.³

To return to Mr. Ottolenghi, we find him repeatedly mentioned as a man of prominence in Colonial records and particularly in an exceedingly rare work printed privately some years ago for Mrs. De Renne, called "Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia."⁴

In 1757 Mr. Ottolenghi was appointed with Noble Jones, a Commissioner for repairing the public wharf of Savannah.⁵ In July of the same year, he is named Commissioner for erecting forts for the defense of the province,⁶ and then again to attend to the collection of a tax to defray Court expenses.⁷ In 1760 he is named in a like capacity, the object being then to raise money for the militia in defense of the province; and subsequently he, together with Sir Patrick Houston and Mr. Habersham is appointed Commissioner for building forts.⁸

The last public mention of him is found in June 1774, when he was probably an old man. His services for the

White's *Historical Collections*, pp. 601-2.

Jones' *History of Georgia*. Vol. II, p. 143. His salary as Indian Interpreter in 1773 was £50 per annum.

¹ White's *Historical Collections*, &c. 601, 602.

² Vol. III, of *Georgia Historical Soc. Publications*, p. 252.

³ *Id.* &c.

⁴ *Acts of the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, Wormloe, 1861. Like other De Renne Publications the edition is limited to 49 copies one of which is in the possession of Columbia College Library.

See pp. 115, 120.

⁵ *Id.* p. 115.

⁶ *Id.* p. 120.

⁷ *Id.* p. 130.

⁸ *Id.* p. 199.

⁹ *Id.* p. 208.

Colony must have gained him the respect of all his fellows. This last entry reads "An annuity of £100. is given to Mr. Ottolenghi, Superintendent of the late Filature at Savannah, in consideration of his long and faithful services in promoting silk culture in Georgia."¹

In the annals of freemasonry in the Colony, Jews seem to have figured at an early date.² As Dr. Friedenwald has pointed out, both Daniel and Moses Nunez were master masons in Colonial times.³ The society was organized by Oglethorpe himself,⁴ and it appears that when in 1757 Gov. Ellis arrived from England, an address of welcome was presented by the order, and David Minis and Abraham Sarzedas appear to have been among those who waited on the Governor on that occasion.⁵

Abraham Sarzedas here mentioned was then probably but recently come to the Colony, for in 1753 his name appears on the roll of freemen in New York. He married Caty Hays, a daughter of David Hays, and their son David Sarzedas figures prominently as an officer of the Revolutionary army in Georgia.⁶

In religious affairs, it seems that from 1740 on, there was no regular synagogue in Savannah, and services were conducted at intervals only. It was due to the efforts of Mordecai Sheftall that the congregation was reestablished in 1774. At his own expense Mordecai Sheftall fitted up a room in his

¹ Jones' *History of Georgia*. Vol. II, p. 143.

² *Historic & Picturesque Savannah* by Adelaide Wilson.

³ See Note by Dr. Herbert Friedenwald in 8 *American Jewish Historical Soc. Publications*, p. 147 and authorities there given.

⁴ White's *Historical Collections*, &c. p. 310.

⁵ See Dr. Friedenwald's Note in *Pub.* No. 8, p. 147. See also Stevens' *History of Georgia*. Vol. I, p. 429.

⁶ Additional authorities will appear in another paper by the present writer on *The Jews of Georgia in the American Revolution*.

I am indebted to Dr. S. Solis Cohen of Philadelphia, who some years ago permitted me to peruse a letter belonging to him which gives much interesting information concerning the Hays family and which contains information concerning Abraham Sarzedas and his marriage to Caty Hays.

residence and thenceforth services were conducted uninterrupted, until the outbreak of the American Revolution dissolved the Congregation and called most of its members to duty in the field.¹

It should be mentioned also that in 1773 Mordecai Sheftall donated a piece of ground to the Congregation for a burial ground,² and his name and that of his brother Levi appear almost constantly on the records of the Union Society in various departments of charitable endeavor.³

This brings our sketch to the end of the Colonial period. Reviewing that period, one fact has always been pointed out by the historians of the Colony, that while Oglethorpe and many of his successors had constant troubles from many of the other settlers, many of whom were the worst kind of malcontents, the Jews were at no time a source of anxiety or annoyance. As the Colony progressed, we find that the Jews contributed their fair share in its commercial, social and intellectual development. They contributed a founder to its most representative charitable organization and made a record of which their descendents may justly be proud.

No greater tribute perhaps can be paid to the memory of these early settlers than by using the language of Georgia's most distinguished historian. "In the record of the Jews of the Colony of Georgia there is no stain."⁴

¹ *Statistics of the State of Georgia* by George White, Sav. 1849, p. 101. See also Marken's *Hebrews in America*, p. 50, and the Sheftall Article in *Occident* 1, p. 381, &c.

² *Historic & Picturesque Savannah* by Adelaide Wilson, p. 225.

Markens p. 50, Sheftall Article, 1, *Occident*, p. 381, &c.

³ *Minutes of the Union Society*, 1750-1858, pp. 58, 34, 35, 32, 30, 22, 17, 104, 40, 43, 47, 48, 49, 50, 112, 113, 123, 126. Also *Appendices*. See also *Address on the Union Society* by Rev. Willard Preston, 1833.

⁴ Hon. Charles C. Jones, in Vol. I, *History of Georgia*; cf. *Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc. Pub.* No. 1, p. 12.

THE CINCINNATI COMMUNITY IN 1825.

BY REV. DAVID PHILIPSON, D. D., *Cincinnati, Ohio.*

In the month of January 1824 the few Jewish residents of Cincinnati had organized a congregation. At a meeting held some time thereafter it was resolved to build a suitable house of worship. Since there was not sufficient wealth in the young community to enable the congregation to undertake the work unaided, the small band of pioneers of Judaism in the then western section of the country determined to address the established Jewish congregations in the eastern cities of the United States and in England whence most of the Cincinnatians had emigrated, for help in the proposed undertaking. There has come lately into the possession of the writer the letter addressed to the elders of the Jewish congregation of Charleston, S. C. in July 1825 by a committee of members of the newly formed congregation in the Ohio metropolis. This letter is of more than passing interest; in truth, it possesses real value for the history of Jewish life in the United States. Its graphic sentences inform us concerning the conditions in Judaism at the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century in what is now the great central West and South. There was not a congregation anywhere in this section outside of Cincinnati. It seems strange indeed to read in this letter that the journey from New Orleans to Cincinnati was so slight a matter that were there a house of worship in the latter place, many Jews would come from the southern city to spend the holidays there. This in the ante-railroad days! The letter is interesting further because we find in it an unexpected mention of that well-known figure in the New York Jewry of the eighteenth century, the Rev. Gershom Mendes Seixas.

This communication, yellow with the wear of time, is the oldest manuscript document I have come across touching Jewish affairs in the pioneer Western community and is well worthy a place among the publications of our Society. It reads as follows :

To the Elders of the Jewish Congregation at Charleston:

GENTLEMEN :—Being deputed by our Congregation in this place, as their Committee to address you in behalf of our holy Religion, separated as we are and scattered through the wilds of America as children of the same family and faith, we consider it as our duty to apply to you for assistance in the erection of a House to worship the God of our forefathers, agreeably to the Jewish faith ; we have always performed all in our power to promote Judaism and for the last four or five years, we have congregated where a few years before nothing was heard but the howling of wild Beasts, and the more hideous cry of savage man. We are well assured that many Jews are lost in this country from not being in the neighborhood of a congregation, they often marry with christians, and their posterity lose the true worship of God forever ; we have, at this time, a room fitted up for a synagogue, two Manuscripts of the law, and a burying ground, in which we have already interred four persons, who, but for us would have lain among christians ; one of our members also acts as שוחט It will therefore be seen that nothing has been left undone, which could be performed by eighteen assessed and six unassessed members. Two of the deceased persons were poor strangers and buried at the expense of the congregation, one of whom was brought to be interred from Louisville a distance of near 200 miles.

To you Gentlemen we are mostly strangers, and have no further claim on you, than that of children of the same faith and family, requesting your pious and laudable assistance to promote the decrees of our holy Religion. Several of our members are however well known both in Philadelphia and

New York—namely Mr. Samuel Joseph formerly of Philadelphia Messrs Moses & Jonas, and Mr. Joseph Jonas, the two Mr Jonas's have both married daughters of the late Rev^d Gershom Mendes Seixas of New York. Therefore with confidence, we solicit your aid to this truly pious undertaking, we are unable to defray the whole expense, and have made application to you as well as the other principal congregations in America and England, and have no doubt of ultimate success.

It is also worthy of remark that there is not a congregation within 500 miles of this city and we presume it is well known how easy of access we are to New Orleans, and we are well informed that had we a Synagogue here, hundreds from that City who now know and see nothing of their religion would frequently attend here during holidays.

With sentiments of respect & esteem

We are

Gentlemen

Your obed^t sev^{ts}

S. JOSEPH CHAⁿ

JOSEPH JONAS

D. I. JOHNSON

PHINEAS MOSES

I Certify the above is agreeable to a Resolution of the Hebrew Congregation in Cincinnati

July 3 1825

JOSEPH JONAS. PARNAS.

It remains only to be said that this appeal to the Charleston congregation was not in vain; both the congregation in Charleston and that in Philadelphia sent contributions to the building fund for the new synagogue as well as individuals in New Orleans and Barbados W. I. It was some time, however, before the necessary amount of money was collected. The synagogue was dedicated in the year 1836.

NEW LIGHT ON THE CAREER OF COLONEL DAVID S. FRANKS.¹

BY HONORABLE OSCAR S. STRAUS, LL. D., *New York City.*

The honorable part played by Colonel David Salisbury Franks in the early diplomatic history of this country has, from time to time, been disclosed in the *Publications* of this Society.² But the documents given below, which will be allowed to speak for themselves, afford many interesting details respecting his career, not hitherto known. They have an added value in that they are largely autobiographical.

Having once served the country in a minor diplomatic capacity, he seems never to have abandoned the hope of procuring the opportunity to display his talents on a larger field. Washington has scarcely been inaugurated when Franks appeals to him for an appointment to a foreign post "in the Consul's Department for a Port of Europe," as he expressed it in an earlier application to the Continental Congress.³ Accompanying this is the following account of his services:

Early in the Year 1774, I settled in Montreal with a small capital and a considerable Credit as a Merchant & was successful in Business. In the Spring of 1775 I suffered a short tho rigorous imprisonment on Account of my attachment to the Cause of America.⁴ As soon as the Troops

¹ The papers in this article were procured from the Archives of the Department of State through the courtesy of Gaillard Hunt, Esquire.

² See *Publications* No. 1, pp. 76-86, No. 4, pp. 81-87.

³ *Publications* No. 1, p. 81.

⁴ See *Publications* No. 4, pp. 82 *et seq.*

under General Montgomery took Possession of Montreal I did every thing in my Power to promote their Success, & at one time advanced nearly to the Amount of Five hundred half Johanese in Goods & Money, which was afterwards paid to me in depreciated Paper. In 1776 soon after the unfortunate Attack on Quebec, General Wooster appointed me to the Office of Clerk of the Checque or Paymaster to the Artificers of the Garrison of Montreal, in which Capacity I was indefatigable in forwarding the public Works, & again advanced considerable Sums of Money, at times when there was not a farthing in the Military Chest to satisfy the demands of the Workmen. When the Northern Army³ retreated from Canada, I joined it as a Volunteer & continued attached to that army with some little intermission until the reduction of General Bourgoyne. In 1778, after the evacuations of Philadelphia by the British Army & on the arrival of Count D'Estaing I procured Letters of recommendation from the Board of War, from Mr Gérard & Mr Deane who came with the Count & joined him off Sandy Hook, I continued with that Admiral until he arrived at Rhode Island, when on the failure of that Expedition I returned to Philadelphia where my military Duty called me.

In 1779 I went a Volunteer to Charles Town & was an Aid de Camp in General Lincoln's Family 'till I was recalled to attend the Tryal of General Arnold.¹ In 1780, I was in Arnold's military Family at West Point until his Desertion to the Enemy, when a Court of Enquiry which I had solicited of the Commander in Chief, made the Report which accompanies this, and which His Excellency was pleased to accept and approve. In 1781, The Superintendent of Finance sent me with Dispatches to Mr Jay at Madrid & to Mr Franklin at Paris.² I continued

¹This refers to the court martial of General Arnold for improper conduct while in command of Philadelphia. For Franks' testimony at this trial see *Publications* No. 5, pp. 158 *et seq.*

²See *Publications* No. 1, pp. 79-80.

employed in Europe until the next Year when I returned home with the Approbation of our Ministers, as well as of Mr Morris, for my Conduct while abroad. At my Return I found myself deranged from the Line of the Army but on Application to Congress I was reinstated for one Year only.¹ When Mr Jefferson was going to Paris, one of the Commissioners, for making a Treaty of Peace, he took me into his Family; we waited a considerable Time at Baltimore for an Opportunity to go to Sea (a British Squadron then guarding the Bay of Chesapeake) Congress in the mean while received information that a Treaty was already signed & this precluded the necessity of Mr Jefferson's embarking. I then solicited the Secretary for Foreign Affairs for an Appointment in the Consular Line, and procured a recommendation from some of the most eminent Merchants of my native Place. Mr Livingston mentioned me in a particular Manner to Congress; a Copy of his Letter and of that of the Merchants, are joined herewith.³

In the Winter of the Year 1784 Congress dispatched me to Europe with a Copy of the Ratification of the definitive Treaty which I had the Honor of delivering to our Ministers in Paris, where I remained ill of a Fever, which prevented me going to Holland in consequence of orders received from the Superintendent of Finance.⁴ In 1785 I went at a considerable Expense to Marseilles to which Place Mr Barclay had named me Vice Consul,⁵

¹ See *Publications* No. 1, p. 81.

² *Ibid.*

³ The letter mentioned follows this document.

⁴ The Superintendent of Finance was Robert Morris. See *Publications* No. 1, pp. 82-84.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 84. On November 11, 1784, in a letter to James Monroe, Jefferson wrote of Franks as follows: "Before my arrival here Mr. Barclay in consequence of the powers given him by his commission had made an appointment or two of consuls for some of the ports of this country: particularly of Franks for Marseilles. He is very anxious to be continued in it & is now there in the

I resided there 'till my little Stock of Money was nearly exhausted & in the Spring of 1786 I returned to Paris; for my first Voyage to Europe, as well as the second with the Ratification of the definitive Treaty, and for my residence at Marseilles as Vice Consul, I never received any emolument whatever. In fall 1786 M^r Barclay was commissioned by our Ministers for making a Treaty of Peace and Commerce with the Emperor of Morocco & I was appointed his Secretary; previous to our departure for Africa it was judged necessary to send a Confidential Person to London to get the proper Instruments signed by M^r Adams & to fix the mode of drawing Bills of Exchange &c, with that Gentleman; I offered myself & executed what depended on me in the two journeys I made to London with Zeal and dispatch. After M^r Barclays return to Spain from Morocco where he had completed a Treaty with the Emperor I was sent by him with it from Madrid to Paris & from thence by M^r Jefferson to London to get M^r Adam's signature to it. In the month of March following I embarked by order of our Ministers for America, bearer of the Treaty of Morocco & had the Honor of delivering it to M^r Jay at New York in the Month of May; with me I also brought Testimonials of the approbation of our Ministers abroad as appears by their public Dispatches.¹

Thus I have devoted Eleven Years of the best Part of

exercise of his office. If I have been rightly informed his services & sacrifices during the war have had their merit and I should suppose Congress would not supersede him but on good grounds. I promised him that I would communicate his wishes to some of my friends that his pretensions might not be set aside for want of being known." Ford's *Jefferson's Works*, IV, pp. 8-9.

¹See *Publications* No. 4, p. 85. January 30, 1787 in a letter to Madison, Jefferson wrote: "You will see Franks and doubtless he will be asking some appointment. I wish there may be any one for which he is fit. He is light, indiscreet, active, honest, affectionate." Ford's *Jefferson's Works*, IV, pp. 365-6.

my Life to the Service of my Country, in all which time, I am bold to say that I have ever been actuated by a disinterested Zeal for her Honor & Prosperity.—

DAV^D S. FRANKS.

New York 12th May 1789.

Copy

PHILADELPHIA, 5th June 1783.

SIR :

I take the Liberty in quitting the Office of Foreign Affairs to request you to lay before Congress the enclosed Letters, the one from M^r Franks, the other from a Number of respectable Merchants recommending him as Vice Consul in some of the Ports of France, which I have hitherto kept back in Hopes that Congress would have formed some general Arrangements. As he certainly has Claims to the Attention of Congress, as he acquitted himself with great Propriety of the Commission with which he was charged in Spain, and as it is desireable to place the Business of the United States as much as possible in the Hands of Americans, whose Acquisitions of Wealth or Knowledge are in some Sort added to the general Stock, I flatter myself Congress will see no Impropriety in making the Appointment, or at least in recommending him to M^r Barclay, if it should be within his Department. The places he has thought of are either Bourdeaux, Nantz or the french windward Islands.

I would just intimate to Congress that he is now entirely unpaid and unemployed, that he has lost much Time in attending upon M^r Jefferson, in whose Suite he was to have gone to Europe. I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your Excellency's

His Excellency

Most ob^t h[']ble Serv^t

The President of Congress.—

(Signed)

ROB^T R. LIVINGSTON.

As nothing came of this first application to President Washington, he addressed the following more specific request to him, a month later :

SIR :

When I had the Honor of addressing you my last Letter, in delicacy to M^r Barclay I did not mention my desire to succeed him as Consul General in France, he being still in Possession of that Office. I now have his Consent to apply for it, and next to being employed as I have already discribed, that would be my Object.

I take the Liberty of notifying it to you, praying that you will pardon this Intrusion & believe me to be, with the greatest Veneration,

Sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble Servant

DAV^D S. FRANKS

NEW YORK 11th June 1789.

As this appears to have proven equally unavailing, he next has recourse to Jefferson, just appointed Secretary of State :

NEW YORK, 8th February 1790.

SIR :

I should have been among the first to congratulate you on your Arrival in your native Country, had I not with many others, expected the Pleasure of seeing you in New York long before this time; I now pray you with much sincerity to accept of my Congratulations on the Event. I wrote last month to M^r C. Griffin requesting that he would mention to you the wish I had, to be in your Family as your private Secretary, till some further Provision could be made for me. As the Secretary of State is allowed as many Clerks as he pleases to employ, I should be glad to accept of the Salary of a common Clerk, to act as your private Secre-

tary, & to be subordinate to you only. That Salary, with the Pay of the Interpreter of the french Language (if you thought proper to give me the Office) would enable me to live & to do honor to some Debts which I owe abroad.

I have now been, with some small intermissions, ever since the Year 1776, in the Service of the United States; & in general I believe I am in Possession of the good Opinion of some of the most respectable Characters which composed the old Congress & I hope I stand well with many of the present federal Legislature—several of these Gentlemen have often assured me that they would take the first Opportunity which might offer to promote my Views: I mention these things, only as they may serve to shew you that I have conducted myself in such a Manner, as not to merit a forfeiture of that Place in your good Opinion, which I once had reason to flatter myself I possessed.

The vexations & Losses which I have sustained since my return home, have reduced me to the last Modicum of what little Property I once was master of. One Man in Philadelphia failed with a considerable Sum of Money of mine in his Hands, & another now detains from me what would have discharged every Debt I owed in Europe. This will account for my not cancelling my pecuniary obligations to you, and I do assure you Sir, that notwithstanding I have been a most exact Oeconomist; I have not had a Dollar to spare from the daily & necessary Expenses of living, Cloathes, &c.

Thus I have fairly & honestly exposed my Situation & wishes to you, well knowing that your usual Candor will guide you in your Determination with Respect to them. If after making such Enquiries concerning me, & receiving such information as you may think will justify acceding to my Views, you may depend on my Zeal & Gratitude. As to the future Provision which I have mentioned before, I shall have the Honor of communicating my Wishes to you at some moment you may have to spare, after your Arrival

here. In the mean time if I can be useful in making any Preparations for you at New York, as I am well acquainted with the Place, I now make a disinterested tender of my Services & am with much Respect & a proper Sense of past Acts of kindness,

Dear Sir,

Your most ob^t humble Serv^t

DAV^d S. FRANKS

The Honorable

THO^s JEFFERSON ESQ^r

There is nothing to show that Jefferson, who held Franks in such high esteem, was able to accede to his request, and he thereafter disappears from view as a seeker after office.

SAMPSON SIMSON.

BY MYER S. ISAACS, *New York.*

Sampson Simson, the founder of Mount Sinai Hospital, was an American by birth, and of the third generation of Americans. His grandfather, Joseph Simson, was a native of New York; his wife was named Rebekah. We have not been able to trace their ancestry. Joseph Simson was evidently a man of scholarly attainments. It appears from Mr. Simson's Will that his grandfather had corresponded with Dr. Kennicott of Oxford, and Dr. Cooper, President of King's (now Columbia) College. He had also communicated with Jews in China, conducting his correspondence in the Hebrew language. His name appeared on the roster of Captain Ellison's Company, the Orange County Regiment of New York Volunteers, organized about 1738.¹

Solomon Simson, father of Sampson Simson, was born in 1722, married Sarah Mears in 1768 and died at Yonkers, in Westchester County, New York. He was brother and partner of Sampson Simson the elder, a prominent merchant and citizen of New York, took part in local affairs and was a member of the Chamber of Commerce. Their firm was engaged in the importation of beaver coating and other articles—"At Simson's in Stone Street". Sampson Simson the elder, says Mr. John A. Stevens, Jr., in his *Colonial Record of New York Chamber of Commerce*,² "was greatly respected and one of the prominent men of his time. He was a remarkably pious and conscientious Jew, celebrated for punctuality and strict honesty. He died of consumption

¹ Thos. Jones' *History of the Revolutionary War*, I, 615.

² New York, 1807, pp. 163, 4.

August 1773. The following year, Solomon as Executor, called in all the outstanding claims of the partnership." It has already been noted in the Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society¹ that Sampson Simson (the elder) was the owner of several vessels engaged in the foreign trade—the Hardy, the Sampson, the Union and other ships. And he was prominent on important Committees of the Chamber of Commerce—on Arbitration, Coinage and Fisheries. When, during the Revolution, there was a difference of opinion in the Congregation Shearith Israel as to whether the Synagogue should be closed temporarily, because of the British occupancy of New York, the views of the patriotic minister, Rev. Gershom Seixas, prevailed, and he and a number of the old families migrated to Connecticut where they could worship without fear of disturbance. Mr. Simson moved to Danbury, Conn., where Sampson Simson was born in 1780.

Sampson Simson, the subject of this sketch, attended Columbia College, then located in Murray Street and College Place, and graduated in 1800. That he continued interested in his Alma Mater would appear from the legacy bequeathed in his Will. He studied for the Bar and was admitted in 1802. He did not practice many years; his tastes did not run in the direction of an active public life, and besides, he met with an accident which disabled him for some months. Patriarchal by inclination, he preferred the career of a country gentleman, the centre of a small but devoted family. He never married. His sister, Mrs. Rebecca Isaacks, with her two children Moses and Jochebed (or Jessie) constituted his family. Moses Isaacks was of very retiring disposition, being in wretched health and physically disqualified from active participation in affairs. Jochebed married Rev. Ansel Leo, the well-known and respected Reader of the Greene Street Synagogue (formerly Elm Street) New York—Congregation B'nai Jeshurun.

¹ *Publications*, No. 2, p. 83.

Mr. Simson survived his sister and her children. The sole inheritor of his wealth, a grand-nephew of whom he was unduly proud, Sampson Simson Leo, is no longer a member of the Jewish body.

Mr. Simson's professional life was brief and uneventful. He studied law with Aaron Burr and for some years had an office with Messrs. J. L. & H. L. Riker at 150 Nassau Street. His personal friend and Executor, John H. Riker, was deeply attached to Mr. Simson, despite the disparity in their years. There were some traditions as to Mr. Simson's regular visits to the office, where he had a favorite chair; but, beyond conferences as to his private business and as to the prosecution of benevolent plans in which he was interested, there are no recollections to be noted. I made Mr. Simson's acquaintance during the visits frequently interchanged with my father. Mr. Simson resided in the early fifties at No. 208 Thompson Street near Bleecker—my father dwelling at 669 Houston Street, a couple of blocks away. They were together quite often, their common topics being religious and philanthropic. My father was his ally in the foundation of the charities Mr. Simson financially promoted; and, together they went over the names of reliable men as Directors. I can recall Mr. Simson's appearance quite vividly. He affected the old fashioned costume, sometimes wearing knee breeches and buckles. He was above the average height, very stiff and upright in his bearing. His hair was white and worn in long wavy locks. His spectacles were of great size. His habitual walk was in short, quick steps—and he carried a silver headed cane, upon which he would lean when seated. His voice was not musical and he rarely laughed. He was exacting and even tyrannical—would not endure criticism or contradiction. As he was quite wealthy and of benevolent instincts, he was, no doubt occasionally imposed upon. There were men he did not like and he let them perceive it quickly. He wrote a good hand; his signature was of the John Hancock style.

His property at Yonkers was a large domain, extending from Palisade Avenue on the west to the Saw Mill River on the east. He resided in the Old Homestead, spending the summer there, after his removal to New York City. He retained in his household several old family servants, some of whom had been slaves, and at one time was in danger because of a fire taking place through the carelessness of one of these servants. His sister roused the inmates in time and he pardoned the offender and retained him in his service.

He was precise in his religious views, rose very early and spent some time at his devotions. He was so particular that he had his Matzos baked in his own house. He was interested in prison reform and in the politics of Westchester County and especially in the religious and charitable movements in the vicinity of Yonkers.

He was a great admirer of Andrew Jackson and preserved a stick presented to him by the President. He was captain of a regiment of Militia, but it is not known that he took part in active service. In the practice of law he was always considerate towards colored people. He was specially interested in agricultural affairs; new machines attracted him. He was a member of the Congregation Shearith Israel, and was a friend of its respected minister, Rev. J. J. Lyons. Occasionally, he was pretty positive in his expression of difference as to the management of Congregation affairs. He was fond of repeating his recollections of the great men of his early days. There does not appear to have been any effort to preserve these memoirs.¹

When he returned to New York at quite an advanced age, he made efforts to carry out some of his ideas, which were really Utopian. He could not win the multitude to his views.² He was always interested in the Holy Land and ready to welcome the messengers that occasionally visited

¹ I am indebted to Dr. Simeon N. Leo for these particulars of Mr. Simson's life.

² *The Asmonean*, January 1857.

America to carry to Jerusalem the offerings of pious donors. There was one messenger whom he particularly affected, Abraham Nissen (Wolfsohn) who was engaged in the establishment of mechanical, agricultural and educational enterprises. He corresponded with Mr. Leeser and Warder Cresson, in connection with the affairs of the Holy Land.

He died January 7th, 1857. His funeral was very largely attended by the representatives of the various societies and congregations of New York.

Mr. Simson's memory is mainly connected with Mt. Sinai Hospital of which he was undoubtedly the founder. Despite the tendency to deny recognition to men whose ideas have resulted in good work, and who died too soon to be counted among the prominent people of to-day, Mr. Simson's services in the cause of charity have been appreciated. Prior to his initiation of the movement for the Hospital, there was no Jewish institution of this description in the State.

The Hospital was originally called the "Jews' Hospital in New York" and was located on 28th street near 8th avenue on land presented by Mr. Simson. Shortly after its organization, the Hospital received a bequest of \$20,000 from Judah Touro, and its erection was begun and progressed until the beautiful house was ready for its beneficiaries.

Mr. A. S. Solomons tells the story of a visit to Mr. Simson in February, 1852, as one of a committee of young men who gave a charity ball at Niblo's Garden (on Broadway between Prince and Houston streets), the proceeds, \$1,034, being handed to Mr. Simson as the first money to be put to immediate use for hiring a temporary hospital building. The incorporation of the Jews' Hospital preceded, but a few days, the receipt of this donation.

The corner-stone of the Hospital was laid November 25, 1853.

Among those associated with Mr. Simson in the furtherance of his benevolent work were Rev. S. M. Isaacs, John

I. Hart, Dr. Simeon Abrahams, Benjamin Nathan, John M. Davies, Henry Hendricks, Theodore J. Seixas, Isaac Phillips, John D. Phillips, Louis Levy, Lawrence Myers, Samuel Cohen and Philip Levi, who were trustees named in the articles of incorporation of the several institutions he established. These were, fifty years ago, among the best known citizens of New York professing the Jewish faith; and the descendants of several of these gentlemen are members of this Society and otherwise concerned in benevolent and educational work.

Two of the societies founded by him continue to exist—the Mount Sinai Hospital, now one of the most successful and important institutions in the United States, and the North American Relief Society for Indigent Jews in Jerusalem, Palestine, whose work has been quietly and unostentatiously done and whose influence has been exerted in the direction of a better understanding of the duty of Israelites towards their brethren in the Holy Land. The policy has been very earnestly maintained that while the poor should be assisted, relief should not take the form of almsgiving; where that has been indispensable, it was to be limited to the dependent classes—the aged, the widow and the orphan. An abuse of benevolence has been perpetuated in Palestine—the distributors of charity sent from all parts of the world have been inclined to claim a share for themselves, and for persistent recipients not in need, but enabled by this means to abstain from labor.

Mr. Simson appreciated the necessity of a change, and thought it could be accomplished through the medium of the society of which he was president until his death. But the ability of the Society was abridged by straitened means. There was a very strange blunder in his dictation of a bequest of \$50,000 in favor of the Palestine Society—the only contribution beyond membership fees he had made. On the death of Mr. Simson's nephew, during

whose life the income was set apart for his support, the principal became available and was claimed by the Society. An action was maintained by Mr. Simson's executor, Mr. John H. Riker, for the construction of the Will and otherwise to determine whether the bequest should be paid or had failed. There were two trials; in the first instance, the decision was in favor of the Society and was affirmed by the General Term of the Supreme Court. The judgment was reversed by the Court of Appeals, but, after an extended argument, a new trial was ordered. The second trial was of uncommon interest. Mr. Louis Marshall and Mr. Adolph L. Sanger appeared for the Society, and Mr. John E. Parsons and Mr. Samuel Riker, for the executor and the heir at law. The issues turned on the intent of Mr. Simson. Judge Patterson decided the contention in favor of the heir at law, and this was affirmed by the General Term in 1891. This trial was of unusual interest because of the testimony offered to sustain the bequest. The Society was "for the *relief* of the indigent Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine." Under the Will, the legacy was for the benefit of a Society for the *amelioration* of the condition of the Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine. The ancient distinction between *charitable* and *benevolent* trusts was stringently maintained by the Court. Rev. Drs. Gottheil and Kohut and the Treasurer of the Society testified in its behalf and stated the theological and the practical ideas maintained by the Jewish body as to charity and benevolence.

An interesting incident developed in the trial was the statement as to Judah Touro's bequest of \$50,000 for the purpose of founding in New Orleans a Society similar in its objects to the New York Society. Mr. Simson seems to have been struck by the language of Mr. Touro's Will wherein he expressed "my earnest wish to co-operate with Sir Moses Montefiore . . . in endeavoring to *ameliorate the condition of* our unfortunate brethren in the Holy Land."

The other Societies founded by Mr. Simson and for which he made some provision, did not maintain an independent existence. Many years ago, the "Jews' Orphan and Indigent Asylum" transferred its property to The Hebrew Benevolent & Orphan Asylum Society which was superbly doing the great work of charity and especially of helping the orphans. And more recently, the lots at Yonkers belonging to the "Jewish Theological and Scientific Institution," were conveyed to the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. The surviving Directors of the two societies thought they were justified in thus carrying out, as fully as the conditions allowed, the benevolent intentions of Mr. Simson.

He was a very pious man. He had "the New England conscience" as it is termed; but he was an old fashioned, uncompromising orthodox Israelite whose ancestry had been emancipated from the Ghetto of the Middle Ages, and in whose blood there was no trace of racial subordination to surrounding circumstances. He was an American—a man—and firm, unyielding, conscientious in his religious views. The combination of a public spirited citizen with the conformist Jew, was not rare in his days. There was no cause that appealed in vain to his generosity; but to aid a church, whether Protestant or Catholic, or a Synagogue by whomsoever founded, gave him intense pleasure. When the "Beth Hamedrash Hagadol" needed the sum of \$4500 to pay for the new Synagogue in Allen Street, Mr. Simson on the advice of his friend, Mr. John I. Hart, Vice President of the Hospital, gave \$3000.¹ Jointly with Bernard Hart, he purchased for the Congregation Shearith Israel a piece of land adjoining the old Synagogue on Mill Street.²

¹ *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, p. 66.

² *Ibid.* No. 6, p. 127.

My thanks are due to Hon. N. Taylor Philips and Mr. Max Kohler for references to sources of information as to Mr. Simson's career.

In his rare and valuable book entitled "The Ten Annual Accounts of the Collation of the Hebrew Manuscripts of the Old Testament," (1770) Dr. Benj. Kennicott, Keeper of the Radcliffe Library of Ox-

ford congratulates the public on "information lately sent me by Rev. Dr. Cooper, President of Kings College, New York, America, that Mr. Sampson Simson, a very worthy and benevolent old gentleman of the Jewish persuasion living in that City is in possession of a manuscript of very great antiquity, containing the whole Hebrew Bible, which he probably would send to England for my use if I properly requested it. This I have done accordingly." I am indebted to Professor Richard Gottheil for the opportunity to make this citation.

THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR OF 1840 AND THE JEWS OF AMERICA.

BY JOSEPH JACOBS, ESQ., *New York City.*

In a measure, modern Jewish history may be said to date from the Damascus affair of 1840, when a monk named Father Thomas, with his attendant, mysteriously disappeared, and thirteen Jews of that ancient city were seized and examined under torture on the charge of having put him to death in order to use his blood for ritual purposes.

The sole basis for such a charge was an alleged confession extorted by torture from a Jewish barber named Negrim, who told a quite improbable tale, implicating the richest Jews of Damascus. Notwithstanding the fact that the majority of them, when cast into prison, withstood every attempt to make them "confess," the Moslem governor of Damascus expressed his belief in their guilt, and reported to Mehemet Ali that they were worthy of capital punishment.¹

It happened that at that moment the eyes of all Europe were directed towards Syria, which had fallen into the power of Mehemet Ali, the ambitious Viceroy of Egypt, through his successful war against his Suzerain, Sultan Mahmud II, in the preceding year. The mysterious disappearance of Father Thomas and the accusations thereupon brought against the Jews of Damascus became the subject

¹ Jost's account in *Geschichte der Israeliten*, X, 345-381, is very full and clear. J. G. Lowenstein's *Damascia* and two pamphlets, *Persecutions contre les Juifs de Damas*, and David Salomons' *An Account of the Recent Persecution of the Jews at Damascus*, give contemporary accounts.

of universal comment throughout the European press, and sides were taken, dictated partly by the anti-semitism largely latent in mid-Europe, and partly by the political tendencies of the writers.

The Jews of Western Europe felt themselves arraigned at the bar of history equally with their unfortunate brethren of Damascus, who had immediately appealed to the Rothschilds at Paris and London, to Amsterdam Jewish notabilities and to the heads of the Constantinople community. The blood-accusation assailed their honor as Jews, and it was felt that every means should be taken both to repel the charge and to rescue the unfortunate victims of it. The important thing to notice is that concerted action was taken by Jews of different nationalities. For the first time in Jewish history since the Fall of Jerusalem Israelites of different nations took counsel and action together for general defence against a common peril. The latent national consciousness sprang into overt existence and the New Israel of modern times was born. That most recent outcome of this consciousness, known as Zionism, can in large measure be traced back to it; before 1840 what corresponded to Zionism was mainly religious and only unconsciously national.

There was one circumstance which should be specially mentioned, as it was the direct cause of this international action on the part of the Jews. The chief promoter of the persecution of the Jews at Damascus was the French consul there, the notorious Count (if he was a count) Ratti-Menton. Now it was the policy of France at the moment to support the claims of Mehemet Ali to the possession of Syria while England was engaged in consolidating the Quadruple Alliance with Austria, Russia and Prussia, which before the end of the year 1840 was to wrest Syria from Mehemet Ali's hands and restore it to those of his Suzerain, the Sultan of Turkey. Here I would remark in passing that, but for this action of England, Syria would still be conjoined to Egypt and would be, at the present moment, administered by English officials.

The political situation at the beginning of 1840 rendered the policy of the Western Jews in their action on behalf of their Damascus brethren rather complicated. It would not be desirable for the English Jews, as represented by Sir Moses Montefiore, to act alone since England was pursuing a policy directly opposed to the ambitions of Mehemet Ali. Again it would be doubtful policy for the French Jews, as represented by M. Cremieux, to drive the furrow alone, as it would be difficult for the French Government to bring any pressure on their ally, the Egyptian Pasha, or to repudiate the action of their accredited agent, Ratti-Menton. After several *pourparlers*—which consumed more than three months—a meeting was held at London by the Board of Deputies of British Jews on June 15, which was attended by M. Cremieux from Paris, and at which it was decided that both he and Sir Moses Montefiore should go to Egypt to demand the release of the Damascus Jews from the Viceroy. It was a characteristic point that the disunion of the Christian powers should have led to the concerted action of the Jews. When at last Montefiore and Cremieux started on July 21 on their eventful and ultimately successful journey, there was scarcely a synagogue in the whole of Europe in which prayers were not offered up for the success of their mission.

Meanwhile news of the dire events at Damascus had reached the shores of America, and the Jews of this country prepared to join in, for the first time in their history, with the exertions of their European brothers, on a matter affecting the honour of all Jewry. It is somewhat difficult to account for the lateness of their action. So far as I can ascertain, it took about 30 days for the European mails to reach America,¹ yet it was not till Aug. 17, more than two months after the Board of Deputies meeting in London, that a meeting was held in New York with J. B. Kursheet as

¹ Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, p. 330.

Chairman and Theodore J. Seixas as Secretary¹ which passed resolutions expressing their horror at the treatment of the Damascus Jews and calling upon the President of the United States to intervene on their behalf. Five days later—time went more leisurely in those days—this resolution was sent to Washington, whence almost by return on Aug. 26th Mr. John Forsyth, the Secretary of State, replied informing the New York Jews that already on the 14th inst. a letter had been sent to Mr. Gliddon, the U. S. consul at Alexandria, ordering him to do all in his power to help redress the wrongs of the Damascus Jews. Mr. Forsyth, possibly for reasons of diplomatic etiquette, since the communication had not yet been received by the person addressed, forbore to mention that an even more pressing missive had been sent on the 17th to Mr. David Porter, U. S. Minister at the Sublime Porte. In this letter, communicated by Mr. Max J. Kohler to the last volume of the *Publications* (No. 9, p. 153) occurs the remarkable statement that an intervention to a Mahommedan power on behalf of Jews might most appropriately come “from a friendly power whose institutions, “political and civil, places upon the same footing the worshippers of God of any form or faith, acknowledging no “distinction between the Mahommedan, the Jew and the “Christian.”

On Thursday evening, Aug. 27th, the Jews of Philadelphia held in the vestry of the Mikve Israel Synagogue a memorable meeting at which were present not alone the chief Jews of the city but several representative Christian clergymen, Dr. Ducachet, Rector of St. Stephens, Dr. Ramsay, a Presbyterian minister, and the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, all of whom ultimately spoke. The meeting appears to have been summoned by Hyman Gratz, but the most important figure at it and the orator of the evening was undoubtedly Isaac Leeser, then in the height

¹ See *Pub. Am. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 8, pp. 141-4.

of his powers. He took the bold course of repudiating the blood-accusation by the simple argument that as both Christianity and Islam were derived from Judaism, if the last advocated ritual murder, the daughter-religions would equally be guilty of the same practice. He contrasted the position of the Eastern Jews with that of the Israelites of this happy land and declared in no uncertain tones, that while the Jews of every land felt themselves true citizens of the lands in which they dwelt, they still retained full sympathy with their brethren in faith throughout the world, especially when charges were brought against them which affected the honor and good fame of their religion. In a moving peroration Leeson expressed the hope that the sufferings of the Damascenes might not be in vain if they helped to move the mighty of the earth to recognize the injustice of their ways towards the Jews and thus aid the coming of the Kingdom of Peace and brotherly love. A series of resolutions was carried expressing horror at the atrocities, hope for the success of the two envoys and calling upon the U. S. Government for help in ensuring it, and on the 31st, again after four days' delay, these resolutions were sent to Washington, whence on the next day Mr. Forsyth replied in similar terms to those he had used to New York and enclosing once more his letter to Mr. Gliddon at Alexandria.

Isaac Leeson's address and the resolutions adopted by the meeting were printed in pamphlet form.¹ This publication is so rare—only one copy being known to me and that, appropriately enough, being preserved in the Leeson Library—that a transcript of the address has been made for preservation in the archives of this Society. The resolutions and the correspondence with the Secretary of State, so far as it is not already given in the publications of this Society, are presented as an appendix to the present paper.

¹ "Persecution of the Jews in the East, containing the proceedings of a Meeting held at the Synagogue Mikve Israel, Philadelphia, on Thursday evening, the 28th of Ab, 5600 (27th Aug., 1840)." Philadelphia, 1840. 8vo. pp. 30.

At the Philadelphia meeting reference was made to action that had been taken both at New York and Richmond, Va., and it would appear that still another meeting was held at the latter place on September 4, with the Rev. A. H. Cohen as chairman, Messrs. G. A. Myers, Samuel Marx and Samuel H. Myers as members of committee, and Mr. Jacob Ezekiel, father of the well-known sculptor, as secretary, in which a resolution of thanks to the President for the action he had taken was passed and forwarded to Washington. Fifty-nine years later, Mr. Jacob Ezekiel, still living and a member of the American Jewish Historical Society, contributed to the eighth volume of its *Publications* the correspondence which passed on this occasion (p. 144).

As is well known, the action taken by the American Jews proved to be unnecessary. Cremieux and Montefiore had landed at Alexandria on Aug. 4th, interviewed Mehemet Ali the next day, and, after much intriguing, had extorted from him on the 28th a promise to set the prisoners free, which took place on Sept. 6, at least as regards nine of them, four having succumbed to the horrors of imprisonment and torture. The very news of the action of America, whether by President Van Buren, or by the Jews of New York, Richmond and Philadelphia, could not by that time have reached Europe, where it nevertheless created great interest and was duly recorded at length by Jost in his very full account of the affair in the admirable tenth volume of his *Geschichte*, still in many ways unsurpassed for fullness and sobriety of treatment of the external annals of Israel in modern times. Characteristically enough Graetz, in his treatment of the affair, entirely omits all reference to the action in America, though it is tolerably clear that he had before him Jost's account.

But though the action of the American Jews had no immediate effect, it was not for naught that they had taken a worthy share in the universal protest of Israel against the blood-accusation which affected the honor of all Jews.

When the next occasion arose for united action in the Mortara case, even distant California took part in the universal protest of all Jewry, and in the Russian and Roumanian atrocities of the past 20 years the Jews of America have been expected to take their share in any diplomacy or action that was needed, and have nobly fulfilled that expectation. Their part in the Damascus affair was thus the beginning of the diplomatic or international phase in the history of the American Jews, and in this sense, I venture to think, deserves somewhat fuller attention than has hitherto been given to it.

APPENDIX.

A.

PREAMBLE.

The Israelites residing in Philadelphia, in common with those in other places, have heard with the deepest sorrow, that in this enlightened age the absurd charge of their requiring human blood at the celebration of their Passover has been revived, and that an accusation of this nature having been brought against their brethren at Damascus, and the Isle of Rhodes, has been the cause of a most cruel persecution being waged against them by order of the Mussulman authorities, instigated, as it is feared, by one or more of the European residents.

They have learned also with unfeigned horror, that several prominent men at Damascus have been seized by their ruthless persecutors, and tortured until some confessed themselves guilty of a crime which they never committed; and others died under the most exquisite barbarities, which ignorant bigotry, urged by the love of plunder and the hatred of the Jewish name, could invent.

Although the Israelites of Philadelphia, living in a land where, under the blessing of Providence, equality of civil and religious rights so eminently prevails, are not in any danger of persecution for opinion's sake; still they cannot rest while so foul a blot is cast upon their ancient and sacred faith, a faith on which both the Christian and the Mahomedan religions are founded, and which is essentially a law of justice, of mercy, and benevolence; and they would deem themselves traitors to brotherly love and the rights of outraged humanity, were they to withhold their expression of sympathy for their suffering brethren, who writhe under un-

merited tortures, and languish in loathsome dungeons, and to offer their aid, if practicable, to have impartial justice administered to them under the present and any future occasion. The Israelites of Philadelphia have therefore met in public meeting and

Resolved, That they experience the deepest emotions of sympathy for the sufferings endured by their fellows in faith at Damascus and Rhodes, under the tortures and injuries inflicted on them by merciless and savage persecutors; and that, while they mourn for those upon whom such cruel enormities have been heaped, they cannot but admire the fortitude evinced by many of the sufferers who preferred enduring every torture rather than subscribing to the falsehoods dictated by their vindictive enemies.

Resolved, That the crime charged upon the Israelites at Damascus, of using Christian blood for their festival of redemption from Egypt, is utterly at variance with the express injunction of the Decalogue and other parts of the Pentateuch, and incompatible with the principles inculcated by the religion they profess, which enjoins them "to love their neighbour as themselves," and "to do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly before God."

Resolved, That they will co-operate with their brethren elsewhere in affording pecuniary aid, if required, to relieve the victims of this unholy persecution, and to unite in such other measures as may be devised to mitigate their sufferings.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be accorded to the consuls of those European powers, who made efforts to stay the arm of persecution, and who by this deed deserve well of the cause of suffering humanity.

Resolved, That this meeting highly appreciates the prompt and energetic measures adopted by our brethren in Europe, and elsewhere, for the promotion of the object of this meeting, and the noble undertaking of Monsieur Cremieux and Sir Moses Montefiore, in coming forward not only as the champions of the oppressed, but also as the defenders of the Jewish nation; and this meeting expresses the hope that the God of Israel will shield and protect them, and restore them to their families in the enjoyment of unimpaired health.

The foregoing preamble and resolutions having been read, were unanimously adopted.

B.

COPY OF A LETTER ADDRESSED TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, BY THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE, APPOINTED AT THE MEETING OF ISRAELITES IN PHILADELPHIA, AUGUST 27TH, 1840.

PHILADELPHIA, 31st August, 1840.

To His Excellency the President of the United States,

SIR.—The subscribers were appointed a committee of correspond-

ence, on behalf of the Jewish inhabitants of Philadelphia, at a meeting convened for the purpose of taking into consideration the persecution of the Jews in the East, on the evening of the 27th instant. In furtherance of this appointment, it has become their duty to address to your Excellency the following resolution adopted at the said meeting:

Resolved, That in conjunction with our brethren of other cities, a letter be addressed to the President of the United States, respectfully requesting him to instruct the representative of the United States at Constantinople, and the United States Consul in the dominions of the Pacha of Egypt, to co-operate with the Ambassadors and Consuls of other powers, to procure for our accused brethren at Damascus and elsewhere an impartial trial; and to urge upon the Emperor of Turkey and the Pacha of Egypt to prohibit the use of torture in their judicial proceedings; and further, that he be requested to instruct the representatives of this country to urge the governments to which they are accredited, to exert their influence for the same purpose.

In adopting this resolution, the idea was entertained, that the moral influence of the Chief Magistrate of the United States would be, under Heaven, the best aid we could invoke for the protection of our persecuted brethren under the Mohammedan dominion, and we hasten, therefore, to seize the first possible moment after our appointment, to present the above to your consideration, not doubting that your own sense of humanity will impel you to comply with our requests.

With sentiments of regard, and cordial wishes for your health and happiness, we subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servants,

JOHN MOSS, *Chairman.*

DAVID SAMUEL,	}	<i>Committee of Correspondence.</i>
ISAAC LEESER,		
J. L. MOSS,		
L. J. LEVY,		

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
WASHINGTON, 2d SEPTEMBER, 1840.

JOHN MOSS, *Chairman.*

DAVID SAMUEL,	}	<i>Committee.</i>
ISAAC LEESER,		
LYON JOSEPH LEVY,		
JOSEPH L. MOSS,		

GENTLEMEN.—The President having referred to this Department your communication of the 31st ultimo, containing a resolution adopted at a meeting of the Jewish inhabitants of Philadelphia,

requesting him to instruct the representatives of the United States, to co-operate with those of other powers in behalf of their accused brethren at Damascus, and elsewhere, &c., I have the honour to refer you to the accompanying correspondence with a Committee of the Israelites of New York. I deem it proper to add in reference to that portion of the resolution which you have communicated, relating to the use of torture, that particular instructions were given to our Minister at Constantinople, to direct his efforts against the employment of such barbarous means to extort the confession of imputed guilt. I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN FORSYTH.

SOLOMON HEYDENFELDT: A JEWISH JURIST OF ALABAMA AND CALIFORNIA.

BY ALBERT M. FRIEDENBERG, B. S., *New York City.*

This sketch of Judge Heydenfeldt's life is the result of the investigations prosecuted by Mr. Max J. Kohler in his valuable and interesting paper, "Jews and the American Anti-Slavery Movement, II."¹ Heydenfeldt's services to the cause of Abolition are there briefly adverted to.

Solomon Heydenfeldt was born in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1816. Of German-American extraction, his family was identified with the Sephardic community for generations.² Heydenfeldt's sister was the first wife of Dr. Abraham Jacobi of New York, and his brother was a lawyer and politician in Alabama and California.³

When Solomon Heydenfeldt was but eight years old, his father died, having suffered serious financial reverses. He was a teacher of ancient languages and had been completely ruined by the defalcations of an agent who held his power of attorney.⁴

Heydenfeldt studied Greek, Latin and Mathematics at a college in Pennsylvania; but he left before being graduated

¹Cf. *Pub. Amer. Jew. Hist. Soc.*, No. 9, 1901, pp. 50-51. My thanks are due to Mr. Kohler for his interest and assistance at every stage.

²Cf. Voorsanger, *Chronicles of Emanu-El*, San Francisco, 1900, p. 15, note. Of the family history in Charleston little or nothing seems to be known. It is believed that Heydenfeldt's ancestors emigrated from Germany early in the 18th century.

³On Elkan Heydenfeldt, cf. my short note on his political career in *Jewish Comment* (Baltimore, Md.), January 31, 1902.

⁴Shuck, *Bench and Bar in California*, San Francisco, 1887, part I, p. 79; *Pacific Jewish Annual*, No. 1 for 5657, pp. 62-65.

and returned to Charleston where he took up the study of law in the office of the celebrated Chancellor De Saussure's son. On the South Carolina period of Heydenfeldt's life, we have no further facts. He left the State for the new settlements of the Southwest to win fame and fortune. In 1837, then, he emigrated to Alabama to take up active legal practice.

He came to Alabama in the early settlement of Tallapoosa county, going by way of Montgomery, where he had been admitted to the bar. He was then 21 years old, married shortly thereafter and practised law in Alabama and Georgia. He was judge of the Tallapoosa county court in 1840 and then moved to Russell County.¹

At the session of the Alabama Legislature, December 4, 1842, an election was held to fill a vacancy in the office of County Judge for Mobile, "one of the best paying offices of the State." On the first ballot, Heydenfeldt received 19 out of 129 votes, while Cuthbert, who was ultimately successful, received but 13. Heydenfeldt was unsuccessful because he was not well-known and lacked the necessary political support.²

In 1849 Heydenfeldt addressed a communication on the subject of slavery to Governor Chapman opposing further importations of negroes into Alabama.³ These views did

¹ Brewer, *Alabama: Her History, Resources, War Record and Public Men*, Montgomery, 1872, p. 514. In commenting on Heydenfeldt, the author says: "He was a man of very fair ability and excellent character." In Garrett, *Reminiscences*, Atlanta, 1872, p. 784, Solomon Heydenfeldt, of Crawford, Russell County, is mentioned as a member of the Alabama bar (1845). Living sources say that he was universally held in high esteem.

² Cf. Garrett, *supra*, pp. 220-222.

³ Cf. Kohler in *Publications*, *supra*; *Am. Hist. Asso. Report* for 1897, p. 978. In Thos. M. Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, in the second reference, the pamphlet is thus described: "HEYDENFELDT, SOLOMON, *Lawyer*. A communication | on the | subject of slave immigration | addressed to | Hon. Reuben Chapman, | Governor of Alabama, | by S. Heydenfeldt, Esq. | Montgomery: | McCormick &

not accord with the popular opinion of the time and place and probably caused him to leave the State. While opposed to slavery on principle and unhesitatingly condemning the means used to further the cause, Heydenfeldt was a strong "States' Rights" man and believed that the Southern States would solve this problem, without interference by the National Government, according to justice and sound public policy.

In the spring of 1850, Judge Heydenfeldt left Alabama for California; arrived in San Francisco, he opened a law office in the old City Hall.¹ His "excellent habits, business assiduity, generous disposition, broad legal knowledge and dignified presence made him a man of mark in that era of restlessness and won for him a fine civil practice."²

At the second session³ of the California Legislature, held at San Jose in January 1851, the members in each branch were almost evenly divided in their political views, although the Democrats had a slight majority on joint ballot. These presented Heydenfeldt as their candidate for the United States Senate to succeed John C. Frémont, whose term expired March 3, 1851. He had been named as the Democratic caucus nominee, but some Northerners refused to acquiesce in their party's choice because Heydenfeldt sympathized with the Southern cause. The other candidates were Frémont and King. After 142 futile ballots had been taken, Heydenfeldt's name was withdrawn, and John B. Weller was named as a Democratic compromise candidate. But the

Brittan, printers. | 1849. | 8 vo. pp. 7. Double columns. Proposes an amendment to State Constitution to prohibit the 'further immigration of slaves into the State of Alabama.''' This pamphlet is naturally very scarce: I know of no extant copies.

¹ *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra.

² Shuck, supra, p. 80.

³ Cf. references in notes 1 and 2, supra; *American Jews' Annual*, No. 4, 1888, p. 103. This notice, however, is confused and erroneous; Kohler in *Publications*, supra; Hittell, *Hist. of California*, 1897, v. 4, p. 96.

legislature adjourned without electing a Senator, and at the next session Weller was elected, Heydenfeldt managing his campaign.¹

It had been generally understood that Heydenfeldt, then only thirty-five years old, would again be the Democratic candidate for Senator. But he was removed from the field of active politics and nominated for Justice of the Supreme Court of California by the Democratic convention, May 21, 1851, on the first ballot over W. D. Fair.²

The election took place on Sept. 3, 1851, and the entire democratic ticket was successful. The official canvass showed that Heydenfeldt received 24,428 votes as against 20,670 cast for Robinson, his opponent.³ He was chosen to succeed Chief Justice Hastings, and among his associates on the bench was Henry A. Lyons,⁴ a Jew of Philadelphia, who had been elected an Associate Justice by the legislature, Dec. 22, 1849, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution. While Lyons was the first Jewish judge in California, Heydenfeldt was the first Jew who received the suffrages of his fellow-citizens for high judicial office. The salary of the office was \$10,000 per annum at this time.⁵

Before taking the oath of office, Heydenfeldt, in the fall of 1851, argued a criminal cause which illustrates the conditions of the time. The jury, on the defendant's second trial for murder, notified Heydenfeldt that seven stood for con-

¹ Cf. Bancroft, *History of California*, San Francisco, 1890, v. 7, p. 225, note. Stephen J. Field, at this time a member of the Assembly, was one of Heydenfeldt's most zealous adherents.

² Shuck, *supra*, p. 85; W. J. Davis, *History of Political Conventions in California*, 1849-1892, Sacramento, 1893, p. 12. For this second reference, I am indebted to Max J. Kohler, Esq.

³ Davis, *supra*, p. 15.

⁴ He came to San Francisco via New Orleans. By Act of Feb. 1, 1850, he was to go out of office four years after Jan. 1, 1850. He resigned March 31, 1852. Cf. K. M. Nesfield in *Overland Monthly*, 2d series, v. 25, p. 418.

⁵ Act of March 5, 1850. Cf. *California Blue Book*, 1891, Sacramento, same date, pp. 249-253, and later numbers.

viction and five for acquittal, "but that if it pleased *him* they would agree upon a verdict of manslaughter." The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter.¹

Heydenfeldt took his seat on the Supreme Court bench, January 1, 1852, to serve for a term of six years. He wrote the opinion in the first case argued and determined at the January 1852 term.²

After serving two months, Heydenfeldt left California to visit Alabama (March 1852), where his family continued to reside. By a resolution of the Legislature (February 1852), he vacated his office temporarily and Governor Bigler was empowered to appoint a substitute. "The governor offered the place left by Heydenfeldt to Burnett, who declined, deeming the act unconstitutional." Alexander Wells, however, accepted. When Heydenfeldt returned, the constitutionality of the act was tested on an agreed case.⁴ Chief Justice Mur-

¹Shuck, *supra*, p. 80. The date of this trial was Nov. 14, 1851. Shuck speaks of this as Heydenfeldt's "*only* criminal case." From a letter of Hon. Julius Jacobs to the present writer, cf. *infra*, it will be seen that Heydenfeldt argued a criminal action in early life in Alabama. Hence, Shuck's statement is erroneous.

²In 2 California 17. His decisions are contained in volumes two to eight of the California Law Reports. He was an indefatigable and most industrious worker. Of forty decisions, taken at random from these volumes, Heydenfeldt wrote 21; the other judges 10 and 9 respectively.

³This resolution provided that Heydenfeldt should be permitted to absent himself from California "for a period necessary for the complete restoration of his health, not exceeding six months." Quoted in Hittell, *supra*, p. 131. In reference hereto, Hittell says: "A great abuse of legislative discretion had gradually sprung up in the practice of granting leave of absence to public officers and particularly judges." *Ibid.* Indeed, in those days it seemed as if no public official could complete his term without having been relieved of his duties for longer or shorter periods, by legislative authority.

⁴Act of March 27, 1852. In the California reports, the date of Heydenfeldt's return is given as April 6, 1852, so that his absence was but a little more than one month in duration. The decision in *People v. Wells*, 2 Cal. 198, was handed down at April 1852, term. Cf. Bancroft, *supra*, p. 221.

ray decided against Wells on the argument during Heydenfeldt's absence: Judge Anderson found in his favor. As the temporary absence of the third judge made a decision in this question of law impossible, "Wells remained upon the bench until Heydenfeldt's return, when Murray's opinion was concurred in, and his occupancy by appointment during a vacancy occasioned by the voluntary absence of a judge who had not resigned, was declared to be unconstitutional." It will thus be seen that Heydenfeldt's decision turned the scales in his own favor: if this had not been the case, his seat on the Supreme Court bench would have been declared vacant.¹

As a judge, Heydenfeldt was conspicuously successful. His decisions are well considered and his opinions are fine examples of cogent legal reasoning and condensation. In his time, weighty problems had to be adjudicated, e. g., the Mexican grants, land titles from early times, Vigilance Committees, etc. His holdings, with few exceptions, are still recognized as law.² He assisted in drafting a new

¹ Bancroft, *supra*; *People v. Wells*, *supra*. It was held that "a constitutional officer cannot be divested of his office, otherwise than as prescribed by the constitution of the State. The absence of a judge from the State is not such a vacancy as can be supplied by the executive, under legislative authority. An Act of the Legislature, authorizing the Governor to appoint a Judge of the Supreme Court during the absence of one of the Judges from the State is unconstitutional." (Reporter's note of the case). It was claimed that the Legislature had no power to fetter Heydenfeldt's rights of travel, the office of judge being a "property" and hence an incorporeal hereditament. That, if Heydenfeldt was impeached for wilful neglect of duty, then the question of forfeiture of his office by absence could be argued, was a dictum pronounced by the Court. Anderson's dissenting opinion is lengthy and logical in its reasoning.

² Heydenfeldt's decision that the California gold mines are the property of the State, and that the policy of the Legislature permits all persons to work for these metals (*Stoakes v. Barrett*, 5 Cal. 36; *Irwin v. Phillips*, *Ibid.* 140), was expressly disapproved and later overruled. Cf. *Moore v. Smaw*, 17 Cal. 199; Hittell, *supra*, p. 182. Later in life, Heydenfeldt was a well-known authority on

system of equity and jurisprudence for California, and was, in the language of Justice Field, a member of a bar composed of remarkable men, not to be exceeded by any other in ability, learning, eloquence and literary culture.

At the beginning of the January 1856, term of the Supreme Court, Murray "claimed that by virtue of his appointment in 1851, and election in 1852, he was the senior justice in commission. Heydenfeldt, who was elected in 1851, was entitled to the place, but not liking to have a quarrel, yielded his right."²

In this year, by a vote of 16 to 9, the California Assembly again granted Heydenfeldt four months' leave of absence.³ The other judges were willing to transact business alone, but later, when Terry had been imprisoned for stabbing a man in an altercation, "the business of the court came to a stand-still and the public interests suffered very seriously."

mining law. Cf. Shuck, *supra*. His decision (1854), that the Chinese were like the Indians and hence incompetent to testify against white men, was afterwards condemned. Hittell, *supra*, p. 112. It may be mentioned here that the personnel of the court was often changed in those early days. Between 1850 and 1860, the entire bench was several times completely reorganized.

¹Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California*, pp. 109, 124.

²Bancroft, *supra*, p. 221. Hence, Heydenfeldt never was Chief Justice. Cf. Voorsanger, *supra*. Bancroft refers to Murray as "a man utterly abandoned in character, immoral, venal, and thoroughly corrupt." Cf. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, San Francisco, 1888, p. 605. For an account of Heydenfeldt's services in the Democratic Convention of 1854, cf. Davis, *supra*, p. 34.

³Hittell, *supra*, v. 3, p. 452; v. 4, p. 182. Bancroft, *History of California*, v. 7, pp. 224, 225 and note. Heydenfeldt is said, by Bancroft, to have been that judge who was *least* deserving of censure!

⁴"During this period no business was transacted in the Supreme Court, as Judge Heydenfeldt had departed for the East and Europe on March 3d [1856], and was still abroad, and there was no quorum of the judges at liberty in the State. The Court resumed its session on August 25th, with Justices Murray and Terry on the bench. Heydenfeldt did not return until in October." Davis, *supra*, p. 69, note. From this it will be seen that Heydenfeldt did not return to California within the stipulated period.

Finally, January 6, 1857, Heydenfeldt resigned his office (his term on the Supreme Court bench would have expired on January 1, 1858), and went back to his private practice because the salary paid¹ was inadequate for the support of his family and the numerous relatives who depended on his charity and generosity. P. H. Burnett was appointed to fill the vacancy: in the fall of 1857, Stephen J. Field was elected his successor.

In April, 1858, Heydenfeldt defended a Jew named Newman, who had been tried and convicted in a lower court for violating the Sunday law, and who was then in prison, having failed to pay the fine imposed. This man had sold clothing on Sunday in Sacramento, and his arrest was probably dictated by an anti-Jewish feeling, prevalent at the time.² This is the first of a long series of decisions which declares that, while Christianity is a part of the common law and while Sunday is the day of rest for those who accept that faith, the followers of other forms of worship, if strictly observant of their own religious practices, are exempt from obeying the usual provisions of such laws. Heydenfeldt rendered transcendent services³ here. He obtained a decision in his client's favor, the Court declaring that the act, under which the prisoner had been convicted, was unconstitutional. It was regarded as an intention "to enforce, as a religious institution, the observance of a day held sacred by the followers of one faith, and entirely disregarded by all the other denominations within the State."⁴ It was declared that the Act was passed "in aid of the devotions of those

¹ By Act of the Legislature, April 21, 1856, the salary was reduced to \$6,000 per annum. Cf. *California Blue Book*, Shuck, and *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra.

² Cf. Bancroft, *California Inter Pocula*, p. 372; Hinton R. Helper, *The Land of Gold*, Baltimore, 1855, p. 54; Capron, *History of California*, Boston, 1854, p. 156.

³ Ex parte *Newman*, 9 Cal. 502. Field's dissenting opinion is now followed. Cf. Ex parte *Andrews*, 18 Cal. 680.

⁴ 9 Cal. 502 at p. 505.

who profess the Christian religion ;” and as government is the exercise of civil, not of religious authority, the decision of the lower court was reversed.¹

At the time of the Edgar Mortara episode, the Jews of San Francisco held an indignation meeting in Music Hall, Saturday evening, January 15, 1859, “for the purpose of publicly expressing their feelings upon this grievous wrong.” Heydenfeldt was the presiding officer. “On taking the chair the learned judge said that the Mortara abduction was a direct attack upon the principles of humanity and civilization—an act of tyranny, which, in the very nature of things, must be adverse to the common sentiments of both Catholics and Protestants. . . . We are uniting our voices to those of the civilized world in forming a grand public opinion against this invasion of the rights of humanity, of liberty, and the social relations of mankind. Our Government may not have, according to the law of nations, the material power to stretch forth its hands with sufficient potency, rescue the child and restore him to the arms of his parents ; but we have another power, which is irresistible, the power of public opinion, which, if excited properly in this instance, the Mortara case will be the *last* of the kind that the world will ever see.” The meeting had been called in recognition of “the peril which attaches to the social and religious condition of all those antagonistic to the Catholic faith involved in such a precedent.”²

A lengthy address to the Democratic partisans was published in the San Francisco *Herald*, July 27, 1860. It was signed by 65 persons, 22 of whom were Federal officials and of whom 8 or 9 were interested in government contracts.

¹ It may be of interest to note, in this connection, that California has had no Sunday laws since 1883. The repeal of this act may have been brought about, to some extent, by Heydenfeldt's early efforts. Cf. Deering, *Codes and Statutes of California*, San Francisco, 1886, v. 4, pp. 84, 85. California Penal Code, §§ 299, 300, 301.

² Quoted in *Pacific Jewish Annual*, supra, pp. 27-29. The pamphlet, from which these facts are taken, is now very scarce.

Judge Heydenfeldt inspired the drafting of this letter which defended the action of the seceding branch of the national convention, and supported Breckinridge and Lane.¹ At the meeting held the next day, Heydenfeldt was one of the secretaries. At the Breckinridge Democratic State Convention, held at Sacramento, June 11, 1861, he was a member of the committee on Resolutions which was opposed to the use of force, and which, while in favor of preserving the Union by constitutional means, believed that the Confederacy should be recognized in the last analysis and openly censured Lincoln's policy and tariff measures.²

Heydenfeldt withdrew from open practice in the courts in 1862, because he felt that he could not subscribe the "iron-clad" oath of loyalty, required by law as a condition precedent to argument in every case. He claimed that the oath which he had taken on his admission to the bar in Alabama was sufficient for any American, and refused a retainer of \$35,000 in consequence, for, "when principle was at stake, money was no object to him." As a Southerner, he had conscientious scruples to this act; and when it was finally repealed, he had established a lucrative practice as advisory counsel and never pleaded in court again.³

With Felix Adler, of New York, and Julius Jacobs, he founded the first free kindergarten in San Francisco. Above all, he was a man of wide philanthropy. At the Democratic

¹ Davis, *supra*, p. 113; also p. 126.

Bancroft, *supra*, p. 220 ff. Heydenfeldt is there spoken of as "a noted Democratic politician." Dr. Voorsanger speaks of Heydenfeldt as "a passionate Secessionist."

² Davis, *supra*, p. 165. The resolutions were said to contain *his* sentiments and convictions. At any rate, Heydenfeldt was the leading spirit in the Convention.

³ Shuck, *supra*, p. 85; Kohler in *Publications*, *supra*. *Pacific Jewish Annual*, *supra*, p. 62; and cf. *Ex parte Gregory Yale*, 24 Cal. 242.

⁴ *Pacific Jewish Annual*, *supra*; Dr. Voorsanger, writing to me, claims that the San Francisco kindergarten system is the most extensive in the world. For a long time it was officered and exclusively maintained by Jews. In a letter to the present writer,

State Conventions of 1862 (August 6th), and 1871 (June 20th), Heydenfeldt was a member of the committees on Resolutions.¹

Solomon Heydenfeldt died September 15, 1890, in San Francisco. He left a widow and ten children, five of whom were born during his first marriage. His eldest son, Solomon Heydenfeldt, Jr., was a lawyer. His nephew, Walter H. Levy, was judge of the Superior Court in San Francisco, and one of the most brilliant lawyers of California.² He was a distant relative of Judah P. Benjamin, the families having intermarried in some way.³

Hon. Julius Jacobs says: "Perhaps no one in this community did more real charity than he. It was not for publication, however.

"I am told by a gentleman who lived in Montgomery, Alabama, in the early 40's, that upon one occasion Judge Heydenfeldt, then but a very young man, reluctantly defended a man who was charged with murder. He received a certified check for \$5,000, which he endorsed and handed to the wife of the accused whom he had cleared, with the remark, 'you have a large family and probably need the money more than I do'.

"I have known him to clothe and educate children of poor families, which fact I learned not from him but from those he had benefited."

¹ Davis, *supra*, pp. 188, 298. He was a member of the first San Francisco Stock Board, but not a speculator, apparently. Bancroft, *supra*, p. 267, note; *ibid.*, p. 668. Cf. *Heydenfeldt v. Hitchcock*, 15 Cal. 514. The Judge's title to some real estate was held to be defective here. As regards his connection with Terry's unsuccessful assault on Judge Stephen J. Field, see Geo. C. Gorham, *The Story of the Attempted Assassination of Justice Field by a former Associate on the Supreme Bench of California*, privately printed, p. 288 ff.

² Heydenfeldt left much real estate. The report of the litigation over his will may be found in *In re Heydenfeldt*, 106 Cal. 434; *Heydenfeldt v. Jacobs*, 107 Cal. 373; *Hellings v. Heydenfeldt*, *Ibid.* 577.

³ "The late Judge Heydenfeldt was a descendant of a glorious line of scholars, . . . he was the foremost lawyer of his time on the Pacific Coast. Whatever were his faults in the flesh, he was a Titan in spirit, an enormous storehouse of learning with a mind superbly fitted for the exalted position he occupied. . . . He was a righteous judge, whose decisions were well-nigh infallible." Danziger, "The Jew in San Francisco," in *Overland Monthly*, 2d series, v. 25, p. 405. Cf. *American Hebrew*, v. 44, No. 10, p. 188 (Oct. 10, 1890). Dr. Voorsanger officiated at the funeral.

Judge Heydenfeldt's services to his Commonwealth have not been forgotten. He was an observant Jew, and his work was such as to make his name one worthy to stand with the most prominent in the roll of honor of American Jewry.

THE JEWS IN CURAÇAO.¹

ACCORDING TO DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE
STATE OF NEW YORK.

CONTRIBUTED BY G. HERBERT CONE.

At a meeting of the Society held in New York in December, 1897, some interesting and valuable notes gathered from the unpublished archives of the State of New York by Mr. G. Herbert Cone on the above-entitled subject were presented, but as they were without introductory matter or comment, it was determined that they should be presented again at the present meeting, with the necessary explanatory statement. It was fortunate that this course was adopted, for, since then, a valuable little booklet on the same subject by the Rev. Joseph M. Corcos, of Curaçao, has come to hand, entitled, *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews in Curaçao*.² This seems to contain nearly all available data, except these original, hitherto unpublished, records from Albany, so that the two contributions complement and supplement each other in a marked degree. This coincidence illustrates anew how unlimited the field of the historian is to-day, when unpublished records in Albany are found to contain valuable original records illustrating the history of the Jews of Curaçao. While letting the

¹ Reported in December, 1898, by Committee on Dutch Records, Hon. Simon W. Rosendale, Chairman; report prepared by Max J. Kohler, Secretary.

² The full title is, *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao from the day of their Settlement to the Present Time*, by Rev. Joseph M. Corcos, Minister of the Congregation "Mikveh Israel," Curaçao, 1897.

Albany documents speak for themselves in their entirety in an appendix hereto, we will draw upon both of these sources for an outline of the principal events in the history of the Jews in Curaçao.¹

Years ago, Dr. Fischell, in his *Chronological Notes of the History of the Jews in America*, noted the fact that in 1650 Jews from Holland established a colony at Curaçao. This is still the earliest authenticated date in the history of the Jews of Curaçao. Mr. Corcos says (p. 7): "As early as the year 1650, sixteen years after Curaçao had been taken possession of by the Dutch Government, twelve Israelitish families were brought hither for the promotion of commerce and welfare of the island, namely: de Meza, Aboab, Pereira, de Leon, La Parra, Touro Aboab Cardoze, Jesurun, Marchena, Chaviz, Oleveira, Henriquez Cutinho. These twelve families were provided from the Council of Holland with letters to the then Governor, Mathias Beck, ordering him to give them sufficient land, and to provide them with negroes, horses, cattle, implements, etc., in order that they may pursue agricultural occupations which had been neglected by the Dutch settlers, who found the contraband trade with the Spanish Main more lucrative and more to their taste. On their arrival, a large tract of land was granted to them in the outskirts of the city, about two miles distant from the fortress, now 'Willemstad', which to this day is known as the 'Jewish Quarter'. It is very strange, however, that, although the Jews enjoyed equality of rights as citizens in the Mother country,² in Curaçao they had to accede to some restrictions; for, besides being looked upon as foreigners, they were not even permitted to be within the fortress later than nine o'clock at night; and if anyone infringed this

¹ Compare Judge Daly's *Settlement of the Jews in North America*, pp. 9, 14; *Publications* No. 2, pp. 2, 94, 95, 96, 99, 103; No. 3, pp. 18-20, 117, 118, 142; No. 9, pp. 149-150.

² This is not quite accurate. See Judge Daly's work, p. 4, and *Civil Status of the Jews in Colonial New York*. *Publications* No. 6, p. 81.

rule and was found there after that hour, he was liable to severe punishment. This, of course, is due to the great fanaticism that existed at that time, of which even Curaçao was not free. In this uncomfortable position this handful of Jews remained for the period of four years."

We have now reached the point where Mr. Corcos' records were scanty, and he can devote but a few lines to the interesting data included in Mr. Cone's contribution, for the reason that these facts were not available for him. Turning now to Mr. Cone's Albany excerpts (annexed hereto as Appendix I), we find that the directors of the Dutch West India Company wrote to Gov. Stuyvesant in March, 1651, that they were seriously considering the advisability of abandoning Curaçao because the island was not a source of revenue to them, when they attempted a further experiment with it, and made a contract with a Jew, Jan de Illan. "He intends," they write, "to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate the land, but we began to suspect that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment, and you must, therefore, charge Director Rodenborch to accommodate him within proper limits, and in conformity with the conditions of the contract." On April 4, 1652, they wrote once more to Stuyvesant, and refer to later privileges granted by them to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi, "who is preparing to go there with a large number of people." The directors were still very half-hearted and distrustful, as is shown by their saying: "Time must show whether we shall succeed well with this nation; they are a crafty and generally treacherous people, in whom, therefore, not too much confidence must be placed." For the first time this grant of privileges, dated February 22, 1652, has been brought to light, and the grant is of prime interest and importance because it is the earliest charter of privileges

looking to religious liberty and toleration, granted to the Jews in the New World, which has yet been made public. It is not apparent that the earlier privileges, given to the arrivals of 1650, were granted to any body collectively; nor that they granted civil or religious rights: at any rate, they do not appear to be extant. Liberal grants of privileges were made by this Charter of 1652, including the right of selection of lands, exemption from taxes for ten years, etc. It is curious to notice that the fact that a Jewish settlement was being formed, was recognized even to this extent, that it was expressly provided that "whereas among these colonists some Christians may be found, it shall not be permitted to the patroon to compel them to any labor on the Sabbath of the Christians", nor shall anyone labor on that day. It is interesting to compare these concessions with the ones unearthed by Mr. Lucien Wolf, granted some years later, probably to Jews in Surinam, which he describes as the first attempt at Jewish emancipation.¹ A further letter, written in December, 1652, indicates that de Illan and his companions were clearing the island of logwood and trading with this article and horses to the Caribbean Islands. Measures to stop this commerce in the interest of New Netherland were taken by the directors. The next year, leave was refused to the Curaçao Jews to purchase negro slaves to be employed in agriculture there, from the same motives. Further restrictions on the trade of the Jews in Curaçao were imposed, but it is amusing to read, in correspondence of the year 1656, how the Dutch authorities in Curaçao sought to excuse themselves for entering into and sanctioning commercial dealings with an enterprising Jewish trader named Isaack de Fonseca, from Barbadoes, contrary to and in the face of the prohibitions which the company had established to uphold its own trade monopoly. In fact, de Fonseca's specific proposals looked to establishing free

¹See "Some Early American Zionist Projects", paper by Max J. Kohler in *Publications* No. 8, pp. 77-8, 91-96, reprinting Mr. Wolf's remarks, as well as this grant.

trade between the two islands. The company first made de Fonseca some unsatisfactory counter-proposals, but he declined these, and was about to proceed with his vessel to Jamaica, when they agreed to accept his terms. A letter of complaint from Stuyvesant, written in December, 1659, indicates that the Jews in Curaçao managed, after all, to induce the company to let them purchase negroes, and Stuyvesant demands that the company give to the Dutch settlers in New Netherlands, "if not more, at least the same privileges, and demand the same terms as from the usurious and covetous Jews."

But to return to Mr. Corcos' work: This colony would doubtless have failed, had not numerous refugees, expelled from Brazil, seasonably appeared. Of them Mr. Corcos well says: "The large number of Israelites that came from Brazil and the immense quantity of wealth they brought with them, caused the old prejudices against the Jewish nation to disappear. They were allowed to take up their abode in any part of the country they wished; and later, they not only possessed the best houses in the city, but also lands, and almost the entire commerce of the Island was in their hands. Thus the youthful community grew in prosperity and affluence from year to year; and to this day their direct descendants, of whom the present community consists, hold a prominent and distinguished position, both socially and commercially."

In 1656 the cemetery laid out by the original twelve settlers was turned over to the new community, and Mr. Corcos gives a long list of early settlers, compiled from the tombstone-inscriptions, which may be of service in identifying Jewish settlers here and elsewhere in other connections (pages 10-13). A congregation was formed and a synagogue secured the same year, 1656, their treatment having been more liberal than that experienced by their co-religionists in the sister-colony, New Netherland. Mr. Corcos traces, in some detail, the history of the religious community, includ-

ing the erection of a new Synagogue in 1692, and the departure of a number of the Jewish inhabitants, about 90 in number, for Rhode Island in 1693, which body is supposed to have included the families of Touro, Gomez, Molina, De Meza Casseres, Rodrigues Da Costa, Cohen Henriquez and Luis. Another contingent, principally Italian Jews, who had at one time been members of the Jewish colony in Cayenne, left Curaçao in this same year, 1693, for Venezuela, and established a colony there at Tucacas, (pp. 18-19) which community, some years later, in 1720, requested the Curaçao congregation to purchase a Sepher Thora for the latter's synagogue. Even the New York Shearith Israel congregation appears, in 1720, to have solicited a contribution for their new synagogue from the Curaçao community, and a similar request was made by the Newport Congregation some 36 years later.

A Jew named David Senior, seems to have been appointed to important civil office in 1722 by the Governor, Noah du Fay, and the Jews appear to have enjoyed equality of rights with other citizens. Some schisms or dissensions between the congregation and a wing of heterodox dissenters were terminated summarily by the orders of the Prince of Orange in 1750. Mr. Corcos sets out at length, the various details in the congregational and communal life of these settlers down to our own day, which are beyond the scope of the present report; they may be profitably consulted by any one interested, in this interesting little work.

In conclusion, it should be noted that there were vessels trading between New Amsterdam and Curaçao as early as 1657,¹ and that this trade, conducted principally by Jews in

¹ In Vol. 12, p. 99, of Vanderkemp's translations of Dutch records (MS.), we find a copy of an invoice of goods exported from Curaçao to New Netherland, the invoice being dated December, 1656, and consisting of jewelry and other like goods; Joshua Mordekai En Riques is the name of the enterprising trader. Compare article on "Jewish Activity in American Colonial Commerce", (*supra*, p. —); Curaçao also note similarity of the name of this trader to those from tombstones, given *post* (p. 156) in the list from Mr. Corcos' book.

each place, was extremely serviceable in leading to the commercial development of both colonies.

APPENDIX I.

LETTER FROM DIRECTORS OF THE DUTCH WEST INDIA COMPANY TO
GOV. STUYVESANT, MARCH 21, 1651.

(Vol. 14 of Documents relating to Colonial History of the State of
New York, p. 135.)

“Although we have once before written about the island of Curaçoa, that, if we should have no revenue whatever from there it might be advisable to abandon it, instead of holding it any longer in hope of unexpected returns; we do not mean to say that we had come to that resolution, but used it only as an example. The enclosed contract made with a Jew, Jan de Illau will prove to you the contrary. He intends to bring a considerable number of people there to settle and cultivate, as he pretends, the land, but we begin to suspect, that he and his associates have quite another object in view, namely, to trade from there to the West Indies and the Main. Be that as it may, we are willing to make the experiment, and you must therefore, charge Director Rodenborch to accomodate him within proper limits, and in conformity with the conditions of his contract.”

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS IN HOLLAND TO STUYVESANT,
APRIL 4, 1652.

(Id. Vol. 14, Page 172.)

“You think we have done well in treating with Jean Dillan about establishing a colony at Curaçoa; we have now granted a like privilege to a Portuguese, Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi, agreeable to the here enclosed patent, who is preparing to go there with a large number of people. Time must show whether we shall succeed well with this nation; they are a crafty and generally treacherous people in whom therefore not too much confidence must be placed.”

IN VOL. 8 OF VANDERKEMP'S MS. TRANSLATIONS OF THE DUTCH
RECORDS OF NEW YORK, IN THE STATE LIBRARY, AT ALBANY, PAGE

34 (see O'Callaghan's *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, Dutch Manuscripts, Vol. XVII, Curaçoa Papers, p. 329) appears the following, dated Feb. 22, 1652:

"PRIVILEGES AND EXEMPTIONS granted by the Directors of the West India Company, Department Amsterdam, to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi & Co., as patroon of the colony on the Island of Curaçoa, situated within the limits of the district of the aforesaid company.

—: 1 :—

The aforesaid Joseph Nunes de Fonseca & Co. are permitted to embark in their own or hired vessels to the island of Curaçoa and establish there a colony on the following conditions:

—: 2 :—

The skipper of said vessel or vessels must be provided with the usual commission, mentioning the name, tons, shape and crew of the vessel.

—: 3 :—

The private individuals, either colonists of the aforesaid de Fonseca or his partners, shall be obliged to give up their names to the Department of Amsterdam, to demand a permit for their embarkation, and engage themselves to execute the orders and the stipulations of the company faithfully.

—: 4 :—

The aforesaid de Fonseca, or his substitute on the island of Curaçoa, shall be obliged as soon as they are arrived in the island of Curaçoa, to address himself to the Vice Director of the aforesaid island, being now the person of Lucas Rodenburgh, and take there the oath of allegiance, acknowledging him and his council for his lawful sovereign, paying him obeisance as it ought to be in executing all his orders and commands.

—: 5 :—

It is further permitted to Fonseca and partners, in the form of a lease, to select and take possession of all such lands as he, with his colonists, shall be able to cultivate, to obtain every sort of produce, to increase the number of cattle in that country, except only the Salinas and the woods of stock fish hout, which the company reserves for her own use, the extent of said lands being calculated to the number of the settlers, viz: for fifty persons two miles along the coast; for one hundred persons four miles, and so in the same proportion, with the express condition that they shall be obliged to make a beginning with their cultivation within a year, and that they shall bring within four years the stipulated number of settlers in that country under the penalty of the forfeiture of said lands.

—: 6 :—

Said persons shall pay no tithes nor other recognition from their produce during ten years. But of wood, (stock vish hout) and other merchantable articles they shall pay at the same rate as the other inhabitants.

—: 7 :—

But they shall not be permitted to appropriate any wood chopt in behalf of the company, neither shall they depose any individuals, either Indians or other persons, from the lands of which they have taken possession ; but it is permitted, if they can, by the consent of said Vice Director, obtain these lands at a reasonable compensation.

—: 8 :—

The aforesaid patroon and colonists shall bring the wares and merchandise which they intend to export from here, to the magazine of the company, paying for these at the rate of other persons, provided that nothing shall be paid with regard to victuals and other necessary articles which are required for the maintenance of the aforesaid colony.

—: 9 :—

The aforesaid patroon shall, if he does desire it, receive a commission from their high Might. to take any vessels of the Portuguese, provided that the captured vessels must be conducted hither to be submitted by the company to the judicature of the Admiralty upon such a commission as is paid by the other commissioned vessels.

—: 10 :—

The Directors shall command and instruct the aforesaid Vice Director that he may not in any manner trouble the aforesaid patroon and his colonists, but to the contrary, assist them as far as it may be in his power, so as the company takes them under her safeguard and protection, promising them that she is willing to defend them by all the means which are there in her power against any hostile attack, provided that in such case the aforesaid persons are willing to defend themselves; for which end every male person shall provide himself herewith with a gun or musket of the usual caliber at their private expenses or those of the patroon.

—: 11 :—

And whereas among these colonists some Christians may be found, it shall not be permitted to the patroon to compel them to any labour on the sabbath of the Christians, as neither he nor any others, being no Christians, are permitted,—although they are no Christians,—to work on that day, much less shall he disturb those in their religious worship or give them any offence, as such would be contrary to the intention of the company who therefore shall provide against it by her letters to the Vice Director.

—: 12 :—

Lastly, it shall be granted that all such privileges shall be enjoyed by said patroon as in future may be given to the patroons of colonies in New Netherland, as much at least as the present situation of that island shall permit, to which purpose a copy of all such privileges shall be transmitted to them to regulate themselves accordingly.

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS TO STUYVESANT, DATED DEC. 13, 1652.

(Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State

of New York. Vol. XIV, p. 193.)

“You will please to forward the enclosure to Director Rodenborch by the next ship and to write him, not to fell any more logwood trees, or allow any to be exported except for the Company’s account, for we observe that the Colonist Jean de Illan and his companions do not intend, as they said, to cultivate the land and plant tobacco, indigo, cotton and other staples, but simply to clear it of the logwood and trade with it and horses to the Caribbean Islands; we wish, he had not been so much encouraged herein, and that he had not received permission to freight the ship “St. Joris,” Joris Javan skipper, with horses, for henceforth we desire that no more horses shall be exported from Bueneiro, Curaçao and Aruba, but that they shall remain there to be used in time in our province of New Netherland. We notice and receive daily information, that the best horses have been taken from the Islands and that in the end there will only be left there a lot of broken down animals; on that account we shall not grant any more colonies there.”

LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR OF THE WEST INDIA COMPANY FROM
DEPARTMENT OF AMSTERDAM, DATED JUNE 6, 1653.

(Vanderkemp’s MS. Translation of Dutch Records, Vol. IV, p. 101.)

We conclude from the informations which we receive now and then from Curacao, that this colony is rather detrimental than profitable to the company, as a colonist, Juan Dilliano, and his adherents, have no aim to cultivate the soil and promote the increase of its products as the intention was of the company, but their only employ is limited to cutting away the stock visch hout and exporting the horses from the island of Aruba and Bonaires to the Caribbean and other neighboring isles, so that ere long nothing shall be left from either article on this island. As one

of their adherents is embarking here and did solicit our recommendation so that he might not be hindered in the chopping of stock visch hout, we deem it proper to warn your Hon^r that you might be on your guard and take such precautions that this fraudulent nation may not further proceed to destroy this wood and export it from the woods of the company, which they are no more permitted to enter than the salt licks, as is evident from the fifth article of the privileges and exemptions with which they have been favored, for which purpose it is required that the same woods be shewn to them and then reserved and marked, as we cannot permit that they, without having obtained from the company a license to collect salt and wood, should freight their vessel or vessels with it and export it to their colony and plantations from every part of this island and offer it for sale to any ship that might arrive there. We are informed that this Nation is so unwearied in this traffick that they not only neglect to cultivate tobacco, Indigo, cotton and other produce of the soil, but do not even provide themselves with the first necessities of life, so that there is much reason to apprehend that they in time shall become a burthen on the magazines of the company. As all this is contrary to good order and the declared intention of the company, and especially contrary to the fifth article of the privileges and exemptions by which, among others, they were obliged to cultivate the lands which they had occupied under penalty of their forfeiture, so it is our express will and command that they shall conduct themselves in conformity to this rule or forfeit their rights agreeable to the articles of the privileges and exemptions with which they have been favored; All which your Honor will consider as a permanent rule for your conduct. * * * * *

(Signed) EDWARD MAN.

LETTER FROM THE DIRECTORS TO GOVERNOR STUYVESANT,
AMSTERDAM, JULY 24, 1653.

(Vanderkemp's MS. Translation Dutch Records, Vol. 4, p. 113).

"You will convey the enclosed letter to Deputy Director Rodenburg at Curacoa by the first opportunity and as some of the Jewish nation who are associated with Juan Delino, colonist, on said island did solicit our consent to purchase a few negros, if any were offered for sale in New Netherland, and export them to Curacoa to promote, as they pretend, their agriculture, we must inform your honor that we have declined to grant their request because the company did prefer to encourage first the population and agriculture of New Netherland, wherefore all servants ought to be kept there and no one permitted to leave the country, if it ever shall arrive to any degree of grandeur."

LETTER FROM VICE DIRECTOR RODENBURCH TO THE DIRECTORS.
DATED APRIL 2, 1654.

(Vanderkemp's MS. *Translation of Dutch Records*, Vol. 8, p. 107.)

"We must use patience in collecting the money for the horses delivered to John Dylan, as is very difficult to gather where scarce anything is: had we known that his partners in Fatherland were not sufficient and that your Hon. would not have arrested the goods brought over by Mr. Joris, then we would have detained these as a security. We owe him yet about f2,500 to 3,000 for flower and clothes which he delivered to the company's servants, which sum we shall retain and endeavor to collect the remainder.

We can scarce perform here anything else besides exhausting the company's servants, who ought and would be profitable to the company had they any cargos to dispose of. They now sell old curtains and other old shreds at three times the price for which these now can be procured in Fatherland. The patroon requested us lately to credit the Captain of the Indians 150 R. Doll., which he had delivered to him in goods. When we thereon inquired what articles he received to that amount, so was it estimated by the officers and two skippers, passengers that the whole would be valued in the Fatherland f25,—19, and this we give as a sample of which many more might be given, but we hope to put a stop to it, as his privilege must be soon expired if he does not fulfill the stipulations.

One is that he ought to have fifty settlers or forfeit all his privileges, whereas now there are only ten or twelve in his colony, who all wished to get rid of him and become planters under the protection of the company without the limits of said colony, but I would not accept their offers before I had received your Hon. orders, by which I shall be instructed what to do."

The Directors replied to this, on the 7th of July in the same year, (id., p. 117) as follows:

"We duely received by the vessel the Good Hope your letter with the books and papers of the 2 April, this year, to which we answer. And first we have with regret and great displeasure the misconduct and extortions made there by the Jewish nation and the colonist John de Yllan, in the sale of their wares and old shreds at such an exorbitant price; wherefore we command you to prevent this in future by all possible means, and that less opportunity may be given to such impositions, so is that we have resolved to supply you by the first opportunity with a few necessary articles. So well for the clothing of the soldiers, victuals and stationery, besides some ammunition of war, as you will see by the annexed lists. * *

Further we learned long since with deep regret that the colonist John de Yllan does not effect there a great deal, neither endeavors to promote agriculture, wherefore we communicated you our intention by our orders of 24 July last year how to act with him, to which we refer ourselves. Meanwhile you must not neglect to collect the debt which said Yllan is yet owing the company, and more so as nothing is obtainable here from his partners.

We believe indeed, that the few individuals yet in the service of the aforesaid Jew should be willing to leave him, but as long as they are well treated, then they are in duty bound to remain in his service; which expired, they are at liberty to look out for other matters.” * * * * *

EXTRAORDINARY MEETING IN THE LODGINGS OF THE VICE DIRECTOR,
M. BECK, (CURAÇAO,) MONDAY, 21 FEB., 1656.

(Vanderkemp's Translation Dutch MS. Records, Vol. XII, p. 79.)

Present: M. Beck, Vice Director, Bogert Hammart, Lieutenant, Jan Jacobs Bruyn, Ensign, Balthazar Van Essen, Cornet, Hans Gronwel, Sergeant.

It was proposed by the Honorable Vice Director M. Beck that the petition of the Jew Isaack de Fonseca, being a merchant on the ship named Constant Anna, which arrived here in the harbour from the Barbadoes on the 18th. instant, bringing hither a cargo of flower and brandy and with oil and dry goods—all delivered by the aforesaid Jew and agreeable to the invoice and requesting that he might be permitted to trade with these articles either with the company or with the inhabitants of this island, having for this end brought with him some letters of introduction and recommendation of the Governor of the Barbadoes, which have been read before and communicated to this meeting, declaring that if the company will allow here a free trade to the inhabitants of Barbadoes, a similar privilege would be granted to those of these islands on the Barbadoes, on which request the Vice Director desired to hear the opinion of the council and communicated them at the same time his doubts as, first he was not authorized by the company to admit here any trading whatever, particularly not to trade with horses (except) as compelled by the imperious necessity and want of victuals, and whereas the victuals are the smallest part of the cargo of this merchant and the remainder consists in dry goods and liquors, that by permitting of a free trade in this island not only a large part of the bleating stock of sheep and goats should be carried off and this island ere long should be left without them, but further that through the

high prices and artful trading of the Jewish nation the natives of this country would be soon destitute of their bleating stock, by which they would soon be bereft of the means of subsistence to the great loss and injury of the company. Secondly: That it had many difficulties, and thus deserved a mature consideration to give here a direct refusal not to exercise here any trade at all as the company in such a case might become excluded to trade in any manner at the Barbadoes or hold any correspondence with that island, even when circumstances might render it desirable. More so as the aforesaid merchant and the skipper of the ship who is an Englishman declare as certain that if from here, on account of the company, any vessels or ship arrived at the Barbadoes, they shall be admitted and permitted to trade there as freely as any Englishman; whereon it is the opinion of the Vice Director that if this is so and the company takes hold of this opportunity, in proportion of the increase of horses, and that some should be spared from these islands, the company would be benefitted and obtain an early profit which now is aimed at by the individuals who refore (?) the Vice Director pursuant to the aforesaid considerations and the council submitting it, and after mature deliberation it was decided unanimously that if the aforesaid merchant, Isaac de Fonseca will demand a reasonable price for his cargo and sell it to the company, provided he will agree to accept his payment at Aruba in horses of the company and some bleating flock if this can be spared, that then a trade shall be opened with him.

(Page 82, same heading. Meeting Feb. 23, 1656.)

De Fonseca having refused above conditions, had determined to pursue his voyage to Jamaica, when the Council on account of "penurious situation of company's magazine, with the uncertainty when from Holland or New Netherland fresh supplies might be obtained and the indifferent crops through which the negroes of the company and other residents of the country should require assistance to preserve their lives, &c., he was allowed to supply the garrison with victuals, &c., and to trade with natives, except Indians, for only those things that were necessary.

LETTER FROM M. BECK, MARCH 21, 1656.

(Id., Vol. XII, p. 231.)

Arrived on Feb. 18 a small vessel from Barbadoes named Constant Anna, despatched by a Jewish merchant residing at Barbadoes. He believes that ship's destination was to trade here instead of

Jamaica, as he might have heard of our famished condition. Bought 4,000 lbs. unbolted flour, 1 large vat of hard bread and about 5 or 6 hundred gl. in wares & merchandise, besides 1 pipe brandy, 6 vats of beer, amounting together above 3,000 gl., on which we delivered in payment 14 horses, such as well might be spared here at 150 car gl. each in conformity to the price established by company and the remainder in stock-fish hout, a ten gl. the hundred, being wood which was chpt here by a Jew on account of the company—in conformity to the price fixed upon by your Honor, viz; a thirty the hundred, but the wood is indeed so bad, that I should not dare to send it either to your Honor in New Netherland or to the Lord Mayor's in our Fatherland so as it is here known and even of public notoriety, and however as the aforesaid merchant wished to purchase it, more so yet as it had been chopt by a Jew as aforesaid, I agreed to part with it in his behalf at the aforesaid price, deeming it preferable to take hold of this opportunity and sell it, which would be a benefit to the company, rather than to convey it to the Fatherland at the company's loss. * * *

Three or four Jews solicited that they might be permitted to leave this island, in which I consented, as their presence here is more injurious than profitable.

Your affectionate servant,

M. BECK.

Curacoa in Fort,

Amsterdam 21 March 1656.

LETTER FROM STUYVESANT TO THE DIRECTORS, DEC. 26, 1659.

(Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Vol. 14, pp. 454-5.)

"On former occasions you have recommended and urged us, to encourage private individuals in this province to trade to Curacao with provisions and other merchandises for the sake of continuing the commerce and correspondence between the two places. This is highly necessary and desirable if it could be done with profit or at least without loss, but that is hardly to be expected and we see less inclination and no chance for a profitable trade, as long as the inhabitants and merchants sending goods here are and remain subject to the duty of 12 to 16 p. ct., while those who sent their goods to Curacao direct, pay only two p. ct. as the bearer hereof, skipper Jan Pietersen Groot, tells us, and goods sent directly from Amsterdam to Curaçao sell there cent p. cent; on the other side, goods sent here must first be exchanged for wampum, and this for beavers or tobacco; when disposed of at the best advantage with a great deal of trouble they

do not bring 20 p. ct clear profit, which of course can give only little encouragement for a trade from here to Curaçao. Furthermore, negroes brought there for 140 to 150 pieces of 8 in cash, cannot be sold here for that price in beavers or tobacco, so that the expenses and the risk of the voyage out and back are lost.

Your Honors hold logwood for your own account, agreeably to a contract made with some private parties; therefore nothing can be exported; salt remains at a low price and there is no hope of an advance for the private trader. . . . When the duties in both places are the same, it is pretty certain, that the intercourse and traffic between them will prevent the frauds and contraband trade, carried on by ships coming here via Curacao, as two of them have done lately. If you would further be pleased for the benefit and encouragement of agriculture to place a fair and fixed price upon negroes, whom your subjects might desire to import here for provisions, lumber or otherwise, as you have fixed the price for horses, imported here from Curacao, it would undoubtedly increase the trade to Curacao and provide the Island from here with plenty of commodities, timber, etc., so that it would never be in want of anything. The enclosure from Mr. Beck informs us, that for the benefit of the people on the Island, you sell negroes to the usurious Jews at a lower price than to Spaniards and other foreigners. We believe and are quite sure, that for the sake of promoting the trade between the two places, of encouraging agriculture and advancing the welfare of your subjects here, your Honors will give them, if not more, at least the same privileges and demand the same taxes, as from the usurious and covetous Jews."

APPENDIX II.

(From J. M. Corcos' *A Synopsis of the History of the Jews of Curaçao*, pp. 10-13.)

"The earliest interments we find there are the following :

Ishack Henriquez Cotinho 5431—1670.

Rev. Abraham Haim Lopez da Fonseca 22 de Menahem 5432—1671.

Ishack Henriquez Morao 7 de Shebat 5432—1673.

Eliaho Hizkiaho Touro 3 de Ab 5434—1673.

Rachel Dovale 4 de Adar 5438—1677.

Esther de Ephraem Jesurun Henriquez 6 de Tammuz 5439—1678.

Rebecca de Mordecay Hizkiaho Henriquez 25 de Kislev 5440—1679.

Menasseh Jesurun Henriquez 24 de Kislev 5446—1685.

Jacob de Ishack Henriquez Cotinho 22 de Cheshvan 5447—1686.

Sarah Alvarez 21 de Sivan 5449—1688.
Sarah de Marchena 29 de Tebet 5449—1688.
Rachel de Ishack Gaon 22 de Iyar 5450—1690.
Rachel Vaez 9 de Shebat 5450—1690.
David Jesurun 15 de Adar 5451—1691.
David Abendana Pereyra 21 de Sivan 5451—1691.
Sarah Simha de Abraham de Marchena 26 de Nissan 5451—1697.
Benjamin Aboab de Paz 21 de Iyar 5452—1692.
Jacob Naar 27 de Sivan 5452—1692.
Benjamin Hizkiaho Henriquez 7 de Tishri 5453—1693.
Jacob Lopez Salsedo 8 de Tammuz 5453—1693.
David Raphael de Marchena 11 de Tishri 5453—1693.
Abraham Hizkiaho Leao 25 de Nissan 5454—18th June 1694.
Zillah Rachel de Leao 19 de Tebet 5458—1698.
Sarah filha de Abraham Chaviz 27 de Tammuz 5460—1700.
Joseph Da Costa Andrade 9 de Iyar 5464—1704.
Rachel Hannah Pereyra Atias 26 de Shebat 5465—1705.
Joshua Henriquez 9 de Cheshvan 5465—1705.
N. Z. J. David Raphael Lopez da Fonseca Hazan e Riby No Kahal
Kadosh Mikveh Israel en Curacao 28 de Tammuz 5467—1707.
Leah de Abraham Molina 29 de Menahem Ab 5467—1707.
Clara de Ishack Touro died 84 years old 5508—1748.

These might not be the oldest graves in the burial ground, as there are about fifteen or twenty bearing no epitaphs, and, according to tradition, they are the oldest."

NOTES.

LUIS DE SANTANGEL AND COLUMBUS.

In Emilio Castelar's "Life of Columbus," *Century Magazine*, July, 1892, Vol. XLIV, p. 364, an interesting passage concerning Columbus' indebtedness to the Jews occurs, which may serve to supplement the items extracted by Mr. Oscar S. Straus, from the Spanish edition of the same work in his Presidential Address of 1897.¹ It reads as follows: "Quintanilla had opened to Columbus the pathway to the court, Santangelo (Santangel in Anglicized form), opened the road to Palos. Of a family of converts, himself but recently a Christian, one of those antique Jews who have so greatly helped to enlighten the Christian world, like the Cartagenas of Burgos, for instance, he joined, as is the nature and tendency of his race, the love of the ideal, appropriate to the prophets divinely inspired of the Lord, to the reflective calculations of the schemer and the mathematician. It is a historical fact that one day Ferdinand V, on his way from Aragon to Castile, and needing some ready cash, as often happened, owing to the impoverishment of those kingdoms, halted his horse at the door of Santangelo's house in Calatayud, and, dismounting, entered and obtained a considerable sum from the latter's inexhaustible private coffers. He must have enjoyed great power, for although some of his near kinsfolk took part in the immolation of Pedro Arbues, the first inquisitor, who was slain in the frenzy of a popular uprising, no harm came to Ferdinand's treasurer, neither did he fall from royal favor, nor incur the usual penalty of infamy. As soon as Santangelo heard of the

¹ *Publications*, No. 8, pp. 2-5.

flight of Columbus, he went to the queen's chamber and implored her to order him to return, being supported in this by the Marchioness of Maya. And when the queen complained of the exorbitant demands of the discoverer, he reminded her that the cost would be but a trifling consideration, if the attempt succeeded, and if it failed could be reduced to next to nothing. When to this cogent reasoning, the queen objected the emptiness of the Castilian treasury and the need of again pawning her jewels to raise the means, Santangelo unhesitatingly assured her of the flourishing state of the Aragonese finances, doubtless because of the revenues yielded by the expulsion of the Jews, and of the resources there available, promising at the same time to win over the perplexed and inert mind of Ferdinand the Catholic. Thereupon messengers were sent post-haste, who stopped Columbus at a neighboring bridge some two leagues away, and made him turn back to Granada, where, in April, 1492, the articles of agreement known as the capitulations of Santa Fe were signed, granting Columbus all he asked."

In his "Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries" Dr. M. Kayserling shows that this same Luis de Santangel, who was then chancellor of the royal household and comptroller general of Aragon, personally advanced nearly all this money (pp. 55-79). He says (p. 75): "At that time neither Aragon nor Castile, neither Ferdinand nor Isabella, had at their disposal enough money to equip a fleet. Santangel, who was always ready to oblige the Crown—advanced 17,000 florins—nearly 5,000,000 mararedis. The Queen's jewels were not demanded as security; all of them were not, in fact, in her possession at that time, for she had pledged her necklace during the late war. . . Santangelo's extraordinary services in this matter are clearly demonstrated by the excessive praise which Ferdinand accorded his 'well-beloved'

Luis de Santangel and by the many proofs of gratitude which the King gave him. That he advanced this money out of his own pocket is proved beyond question by the original account books (p. 77) which were formerly in the archives of Simancas, and which are still preserved in the Archivo de Indias in Seville. In the account-book of Luis de Santangel and the treasurer Francisco Pinilo, extending from 1491 to 1493, Santangel is credited with an item of 1,400,000 mararedis which he gave to the Bishop of Avila for Columbus' expedition. In another account-book, that of Garcia Martinez and Pedro de Montemayor, there is the following item: 'Alonso de las Calezas, treasurer of war in the bishopric of Badajoz, by order of the Archbishop of Granada, dated May 5, 1492, paid to Alonso de Angelo for Luis de Santangel, the King's escribano de racion, whose authorization was presented with the aforesaid order, 2,640,000 mararedis, to wit, 1,500,000 in payment to Isaac Abravanel for money which he had lent their Majesties in the Moorish war, and the remaining 1,140,000 mararedis in payment to the aforesaid escribano de racion of money which he advanced to equip the caravels ordered by their Majesties for the expedition to the Indies and to pay Christopher Columbus, the admiral of that fleet.' On May 20, 1493, on which day Ferdinand was particularly occupied with Columbus and his expedition, the King ordered his treasurer-general, Gabriel Sanchez, to pay 30,000 florins in gold to 'his beloved councillor and escribano de racion, Luis de Santangel.' This sum certainly included the remainder of the loan."

The first and second letters, narrating the facts of his great discovery, were addressed by Columbus to these Marranos, Santangel and Sanchez, respectively, with a view to having them communicate their contents to the King and Queen. The text, in early printed copies, constitute the

rarest and most valued accounts of Columbus' discovery handed down to us. Winsor, in his "Christopher Columbus" rejects the Queen Isabella jewel story and "follows Henry Harrisse's view and judges the advance of funds to have been by Santangel from his private revenues and in the interests of Castile only. And this seems to be proved by the invariable exclusion of Ferdinand's subjects from participation in the advantages of trade in the new lands, unless an exception was made in for some signal service."

Columbus himself, in his journal, calls attention to the coincidence of his first voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in the following passage: "So, after having expelled the Jews from your dominions, your Highness, in the same month of January, ordered me to proceed with a sufficient armament, to the said regions of India." Castelar (*Century Magazine*, *id.*, p. 589) comments on this coincidence as follows: "It chanced that one of the last vessels transporting into exile the Jews expelled from Spain by the religious intolerance of which the recently created and odious Tribunal of the Faith was the embodiment, passed by the little fleet bound in search of another world, whose creation should be new-born, a haven be afforded to the quickening principle of human liberty, and a temple reared to the God of enfranchised and redeemed consciences. As though the sun were not to shine for all, as though the will of heaven had not made us equal, the accursed spirit of reaction was wreaking one of its stupendous and futile crimes in that very hour when the genius of liberty was searching the waves for the land that must needs arise to offer an unstained abode for the ideals of progress. Following their narrow views, the powers of the Middle Ages denied even light and warmth to the Jews at the same time that they revealed a new creation for a new order of society, that was predestined by Providence to put an end to all intoler-

ance and to dedicate an infinite continent to modern democracy.”

M. J. K.

JEWS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

“Hart Jacobs, a Jew attending at the door, requests an exemption from doing military duty, on the City Watch, on Friday nights, which is part of his Sabbath. Thereupon a Certificate was given to him, in the words following, to wit:

“Hart Jacobs, of the Jewish religion, having signified to this Committee that it is inconsistent with his religious profession to perform military duty on Friday nights, being part of the Jewish Sabbath, it is

“Ordered, That he be exempted from Military duty on that night of the week, to be subject, nevertheless, to the performance of his full tour of duty on other nights.”

[Minutes of New York Committee of Safety, Monday, January 22, 1776, in *Force's Am. Arch.*, 4th Series, vol. IV, p. 1065.]

In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for July 19, 1775, No. 2430, under date of July 17, Mordecai Levy acknowledges to having spoken disrespectfully of the Continental Congress and of military gentlemen, and now expresses sorrow for his guilty utterances. He has been convinced that all assemblies are legal and constitutional and that no soldiers are so respectable as those citizens who take up arms in defense of liberty. He believes that Kings are only to be feared and obeyed when they execute just laws, and that the Ministry and Parliament are attempting to reduce the Colonies to slavery. He wishes that the Councils of the Congress may always be directed with wisdom, and the arms of America always be crowned with success. “And I pray that every man in America, who behaves as I have formerly done, may not meet with the lenity which I have experienced, but may be obliged to expiate his crimes in a more ignominious manner.”

In an appendix to the work on "Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution" by Dr. A. C. Flick (New York, Columbia University Press, 1901) a tabulated list of "Forfeited estates of Loyalists sold in New York City" is to be found, from which the following items are taken :

Date of Sale.	Loyalist Owner.	Purchaser.	Price.	Description.
Nov. 18, 1784.	James De Lancey, attainted.	Isaac Moses, merchant.	£95	Lots 792-796 in Out Ward. N. by De Lancey st., S. by lot No. 797, E. by Fourth st., W. by lots No. 787-791. ¹
Dec. 30, 1784.	"	Jacob Mordecai.	£66	Lots 275 & 276 in Out Ward. E. by 2nd. st., W. by lots 255 & 256, N. by lot No. 214, S. by lot No. 277.
Feb. 22, 1785.	"	Isaac Moses,	£256	Lots No. 1430-1437, & 1454-1461 in Out Ward. S. by Eagle st., E. by Norfolk st., W. by Essex st., N. by lots No. 1438 & 1445.
Aug. 16, 1787.	"	Philip Jacobs, merchant.	£910	Messuage and land in Out Ward. W. by Bowery Lane N. by Gabriel Furman, E. by lot No. 27, S. by Division st.
Aug. 17, 1787.	Oliver De Lancey.	"	£910	2 lots on Bowery Lane.

By reference to Almon's *Parliamentary Register*, vol. III, pp. 364-5, 1776, it will be found that Moses Franks was, during the years 1774 and 1775 one of the principal providers of provisions for the British army in Quebec, Montreal, Massachusetts, New York, and in the Illinois country.

"If a certain Asher Levy, son of Mr. Isaac Levy, of the city of Philadelphia, deceased, will apply to the Printer hereof, he will hear of something to his advantage."

[*Pennsylvania Packet*, December 9, 1783.]

"I, the subscriber, being of lawful age, do testify and say, that on or about the 24th of September, 1775, being on board the Gaspee man-of-war, I saw Colonel [Ethan Allen] with a pair of irons on his legs, and a sentry standing before him with a pistol in his hand.

"Dated at Montreal, February 14, 1776.

LEVI SOLOMONS.

"Sworn before me, Montreal, February 14, 1776.

DAVID WOOSTER.

Brigadier General."

[*Force's Am. Archives*, 4th series, vol. V, p. 149.]

"Isaac Adolphus, a very honest Israelite, well known, and greatly respected by the inhabitants of this city, yesterday resigned his breath: he had been seized with a sore throat a few days before his dissolution. He lived 24 years in this country, and has not left an enemy behind him."

[*Rivington's New York Gazette*, September 8, 1774, No. 73.]

In the recently issued reprint, of the *American Weekly Mercury*, of Philadelphia, for 1721, the following items are

to be found: Custom House, Boston, July 15, "Entered Inward" Joshua Benjamin from Barbados.

(July 27—August 3, 1721. Reprint p. 86.)

Samuel Jacobs, commander of the Sloop "Antelope" cleared from Philadelphia for Barbados on June 15, 1721, returned on August 25, and sailed again for that port on September 7 and 28. (Reprint pp. 60, 96, 100, 108.)

HERBERT FRIEDENWALD.

SOME NOTES ON THE CAREER OF COLONEL DAVID

S. FRANKS.

Military Career while connected with Massachusetts troops. "Franks David (also given David Salisbury) Boston (also given Philadelphia.) list of men mustered by Nathaniel Barber, Muster Master for Suffolk County, dated Boston, Jan. 19, 1777. Major Ebenezer Steven's Battalion; also descriptive list. Capt. John Lillies Co., Col. John Crane (3d Artillery) Regiment, age 40, stature 5 ft. 7 in. Complexion, brown, residence Boston; engaged for town of Boston, engaged by Lieut. Traicey in 1777 term, during war. Also matross, Capt. John Lillie's Co., Col. John Crane's Artillery Regt; Continental Army Pay Accounts for Service from Jan. 15, 1777—Dec. 31, 1780. Residence Philadelphia."

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, vol. VI, page 19.

The following note may also be of interest although it is doubtful whether it refers to Col. Franks.

"Franks David. Marine. Sloop 'Providence' commanded by Capt. John Paul Jones. List of Men entitled to prize shares in the ship 'Alexander,' captured Sept. 20, 1777."

Ibid., vol. VI, p. 20.

There are also several other similar references.

The following references are taken from the correspondence of Thomas Jefferson.

Baltimore February 14, 1783.

To James Madison :—

“My stay has given me opportunity of making some experiments of my amanuenses, F———s, perhaps better than I may have in France. He appears to have a good eno’ heart, and understanding somewhat better than common, but too little guard over his lips. I have marked him particularly in the company of women where he loses all power over himself and becomes almost (lacking). His temperature would not be proof against their allurements were such to be employed as engines against him. This is in some measure the vice of his age but it seems to be increased also by his peculiar constitution.”

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Paul Leicester Ford, New York, 1894, volume III, p. 310.

Paris, November 11, 1784.

To James Monroe :—

“Before my arrival here Mr. Barclay in consequence of the powers given him by his commission had made an appointment or two of consuls for some of the ports of this Country, particularly of Franks for Marseilles. He is very anxious to be continued in it and is now there in the exercise of his office. If I have been rightly informed, his services and sacrifices during the war have had their merit and I should suppose Congress would not supersede him but on good grounds. I promised him that I would communicate his wishes to some of my friends that his pretension might not be set aside for want of being known.”

The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Paul Leicester Ford, volume IV, p. 8.

To James Madison :—

Paris, January 30, 1787.

“You will see Franks and doubtless he may be asking some appointment. I wish there may be one for which he is fit. He is light, indiscreet, active, honest, affectionate.”

Ibid., volume IV, p. 365.

February 5, 1787.

To James Madison :—

Since writing thus far, Franks has returned from England I send with Colonel Franks your pocket telescope, etc., etc.

Ibid., p. 368.

There are also a number of interesting references to Colonel Franks in the correspondence of Adams, Jefferson and Jay in connection with the services of Colonel Franks in negotiating and procuring the Treaty with Morocco.

See *Works of John Adams*, edited by Charles Francis Adams, Boston, 1853, volume VIII, pp. 316, 317-349, 422, 426, 429-431.

LEON HÜHNER.¹

MILITARY RECORD OF ISAAC FRANKS.

The following is perhaps the most complete record of the military career of Isaac Franks, while connected with the Massachusetts troops, during the Revolutionary War.

“Isaac Franks.—Letter from Lieut. Col. J. Brooks to Gov. Hancock, dated Boston, Feb. 22, 1781, recommending said Franks who had served in his regiment for some time past in the Quartermaster General’s Department to an Ensigncy in his regiment, and asked that a warrant be granted him and that he take rank from Jan; 1, 1781; ordered in Council Feb. 22, 1781 that a warrant be issued; reported commissioned Feb. 22, 1781, also Ensign. Lieut. Col. John Brooks (7th) Regiment; return of officers dated German Hutts May 18, 1781, reported on extra service settling accounts; also Ensign. Capt. Benjamin Warren’s (8th) Co. Lieut. Col. Brooks regiment; muster roll for May 1781 dated West Point, appointed Jan. 1, 1781; reported on extra duty settling accounts from May 18, 1781 to June 15, 1781 dated West Point; reported in garrison settling

accounts from June 1, 1781; also returns of officers from June 22, 1781 to June 29, 1781 dated Peekskill, reported on duty at West Point; also Capt. Warrens Company, Lieut. Col. Brook's Regiment; muster roll for June 1781; reported on Command at West Point; also same regiment returns of officers from July 7, 1781 to July 27, 1781, dated Phillipsburgh, reported on command at West Point; also same regiment returns of officers from August 2, 1781 to August 17, 1781 dated Phillipsburgh, reported on command at West Point; also returns of officers dated Peekskill Augt. 25—August 31, 1781; reported on command at West Point, also return of officers dated West Point Sept. 13, 1781, reported attending court martial in garrison, also Capt. Mills Co. Lieut. Col. Brook's Regiment, muster roll for Sept. 1781; also same regiment, return of officers dated Peekskill Oct. 5, 1781; leave granted said Franks Oct. 2, 1781 by Col. Brooks to go to Wall Hill for three days; also return of officers from Nov. 2, 1781—Nov. 23, 1781 dated Peekskill, reported on Command at Verplanck's Point; also Capt. Mills (7th) Co. Lieut. Col. Brook's Regiment; muster roll for Oct., Nov., and December 1781 dated York Hutts; reported on Command at Verplanck's Point until Dec. 20, 1781; on furlough in Philadelphia by leave of Gen. McDougal (also given by leave of General Heath) from Dec. 28 (also given Dec. 18 and Dec. 29) 1781; furlough to expire March 15, 1782; also same regiment, return of officers from March 22, 1782—June 21, 1782 dated Hutts and West Point; reported absent since March 15, 1782 furlough reported to have expired; also 7th Mass. Regiment 1st Brigade, return of absent officers dated West Point June 24, 1782; said Franks furloughed Dec. 28, 1781 by Gen. McDougal; furlough expired April 10, 1782; reported refused to join regiment, pleading that he had Col. Humphrey's permission to resign without coming to camp; also Lieut. Col. Brook's regiment; return of officers from June 28, 1782—July 19, 1782 reported absent since March 15,

1782, also list of officers of 7th Mass. regiment, said Franks commissioned Jan. 1, 1781 resigned July 1782."

Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors in the War of the Revolution, prepared and arranged by the Secretary of the Commonwealth. Boston, 1899, vol. VI, p. 20.

LEON HÜHNER.

MISCELLANEOUS.

In connection with Longfellow's beautiful poem on the Jewish Cemetery at Newport, the following passage from his diary, under date of July 9, 1852, is interesting, as suggesting the inspiration for it. Longfellow wrote: "Went this morning into the Jewish burying-ground with a polite old gentleman who keeps the key. There are few graves. Nearly all are low tombstones of marble, with Hebrew inscriptions and a few words added in English or Portuguese. At the foot of each, the letters S. A. D. G. It is a shady nook at the corner of two dusty frequented streets, with an iron fence and a granite gateway, erected at the expense of Mr. Touro of New Orleans. Over one of the graves grows a weeping willow—a grandchild of the willow over Napoleon's grave in St. Helena." Light as to the origin of another of Longfellow's Jewish poems is thrown by the following letter from the *New York Times*, of April 4, 1900, written by one who wrote authoritatively over the initials "H. W. M.": "The death of the revered and beloved Rabbi Wise recalls a story he told long ago of a visit made to the home of Longfellow. In the course of the conversation which took place the rabbi related the legend from the Talmud of Sandalphon, the Angel of Prayer, which so impressed the poet that he made a note of it and afterwards wove into those verses, which may pass to posterity with his greater themes. The rabbi loved to talk of this visit and of walks beneath the famous elms."

M. J. K.

Dr. M. Kayserling, writing in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (issue of July 12, 1901), supplements the "American Zionist Projects" described in Volume 8 of these *Publications*, (though he writes concerning an incident having no direct connection with America) by an account of the following transaction: "In 1770 a gentleman of rank ("Mann von Stande") turned with confidence to Moses Mendelssohn with a similar extraordinary project. Mendelssohn was no Zionist, and was too little of a visionary and much too clear a thinker, to have permitted the many difficulties, standing in the way of such a project, to escape him. The answer which he directed to this "gentleman of position" is so apt and convincing, that we cannot refrain from communicating it here: 'The greatest difficulty standing in the way of the project seems to me to be the character of my nation. It is not sufficiently prepared to undertake anything great. The oppression under which we have been living for so many centuries has deprived our spirit of all vigor. It is not our fault; yet we cannot gainsay it, that the natural striving for freedom has overcome energy in us. I cannot even assure myself that my widely scattered people possesses the co-operative force, without which the most carefully laid plans must fail. On the other hand, the project seems to require unlimited means, and I, who know that the riches of my people consist much more of credit than of actual wealth, cannot believe that their powers would suffice, to encompass this, even if, moreover, the passion for freedom would be ever so great and the love for the glittering metal would be ever so slight a force with them. Even without regard to all these difficulties, such a project would appear to me to be practicable only if all the powers of Europe were involved in universal war, and each would be bound to occupy itself with its own concerns. In the condition of peace in which they now find themselves, a single ambitious power—and there would be no dearth of these—can shatter the whole project. The unfortunate Crusades justify these fears only too much.' (Moses Mendelssohn's *Collected Writings*, v, 494.)

In an interesting article on "Ararat," Mordecai M. Noah's project, contributed by Dr. Heinrich Loewe to *Die Welt* (issue of January 31st, 1902), further complementary matter is to be found. Some of the conditions that Mendelssohn seems to have deemed necessary appear to have been present, when Napoleon, in 1799, caused to be inserted in *Le Moniteur Universel* or *Gazette Nationale* (No. 243) the following canard: "Constantinople, le 28 Germinal. Bonaparte a fait publier une proclamation, dans laquelle il invite tous les Juifs de l'Asie et de l'Afrique à venir se ranger sous ses drapeaux pour retablir l'ancienne Jerusalem. Il en a déjà armé un grand nombre, et leurs bataillons macent Alep." Of more local interest is the scheme, referred to in the same article, on the part of a distinguished London Jew in the fall of 1825, to recruit immigrants to start a Jewish colony in Florida (*Shener-Zeitung*, No. 260, 7 November, 1825). Dr. Loewe's paper is of particular interest, as showing how much attention Noah's Ararat project awakened in Europe, contemporary accounts of it from a number of the leading newspapers of the different countries of Europe being reprinted. The article contains several items of interest to a biographer of Mordecai M. Noah, among other things, a reference to a German translation which appeared in Altona (Hammerich, 1838, 12mo) of Noah's pamphlet dealing with the alleged Hebrew origin of the American aborigines.

M. J. K. ^d

NECROLOGY.

HERBERT BAXTER ADAMS.

The death of Herbert Baxter Adams, Professor of American and Institutional History in Johns Hopkins University, at Amherst, Mass., on July 30, 1901, means to the American Jewish Historical Society the loss which comes with the terminated activity not only of a distinguished toiler in the field of historical science, but of a staunch supporter and an interested participant in this Society's work. One of the persons whose advice was sought when the American Jewish Historical Society was first projected, his relation to its subsequent activities remained throughout one of the keenest interest and most cordial sympathy. He contributed to Volume 2, (1894) of the *Proceedings* an interesting sketch of Haym Salomon, from an unpublished MS. in the papers of Jared Sparks. In other less tangible ways he aided the scientific work of the Society and stimulated a number of its members.

Professor Adams was born at Shutesbury (near Amherst), Massachusetts, on April 16, 1850. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Amherst College, where he was graduated as valedictorian in 1872. After a year's teaching at Williston Seminary, he was encouraged to go abroad to pursue advanced studies in Germany in historical and political science. He studied under Bluntschli, Ihne, Curtius, Treitschke and other masters in Berlin and Heidelberg, and was awarded the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by the political science faculty of Heidelberg on July 14, 1876.

He returned to the United States and was appointed fellow in history in the newly organized Johns Hopkins

University in Baltimore. There in increasingly honorable and important affiliation he spent the remaining twenty-five years of his life. The story of his manifold activities and his inspiring influence has been told elsewhere.¹ He built up a great school of historical and political science in Baltimore, whose influence has been widespread and enduring. He was one of the founders of the American Historical Association, and continued as its secretary until shortly before his death. He made many notable contributions to historical science and rendered important services to public affairs. But best of all he stimulated the minds, he influenced the characters and he shaped the aspirations of many young men, to whom his personality will always remain a living presence and his work an object of affectionate gratitude. To these there could be no juster estimate than that of ex-President Gilman, "there will be in Baltimore other teachers of American and institutional history, perhaps more learned, perhaps more philosophical, but there will be none more timely, none more useful, none more beloved than Herbert B. Adams, fellow, associate, associate professor, and professor in the Johns Hopkins University from 1876 to 1901"

J. H. H.

DAVID HAYS.

David Hays was born in the City of New York on November 28, 1858, and died at Rochester, N. Y., on October 17, 1900. He was graduated from Rochester University in 1877, and after pursuing a post-graduate course in the University of Berlin commenced the study of law in 1878 and was admitted to practice in 1880.

¹ See "Herbert B. Adams: Tributes of Friends. With a Bibliography of the Department of History, Politics and Economics of the Johns Hopkins University, 1876-1901. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1902." This notable memorial volume contains memoirs and tributes from John M. Vincent, Richard T. Ely, Daniel C. Gilman and others.

Soon after his admission he formed a partnership with Mr. James Breck Perkins, the well known writer on French history, and this copartnership continued until Mr. Hays' death. He was a student in the highest sense of the term; a man of fine moral fibre; of exquisite literary taste; of gentle and refined manners, and of deep sincerity and scrupulous honesty. As a lawyer he was distinguished for his industry, his familiarity with legal principles, his powers of close and logical reasoning, and clearness of statement. At the time of his death he had become one of the leaders of the bar of Western New York. As a citizen he was prominent in all movements which tended toward good government and lived up to his ideals. He was a charitable man and was interested in many forms of philanthropic work. He served as President of the Jewish Orphan Asylum of Western New York for a term of years and his administration was a most successful one. He died in the fullness of his powers, mourned by the entire community in which he lived.

L. M.

JOSEPH BLUMENTHAL.

Joseph Blumenthal was born in Munich, Germany, on December 1, 1834, and died in New York, on March 2, 1901. He took much interest in public affairs and actively participated in many campaigns. He was a member of the famous Committee of Seventy which was so greatly instrumental in the overthrow of the Tweed Ring. He was also a Member of Assembly in the years 1873 and 1874. Afterwards, at the personal request of the Hon. Allan Campbell, then Commissioner of Public Works, he served for several years as head of the Bureau of Incumbrances in that Department, during the Mayoralty of the Hon. Edward Cooper.

Later, he was again elected to the State Legislature, being a Member of the Assembly for four successive terms,

from 1888 to 1891, serving for a portion of this time as Chairman of the important Committee on Cities. He was for several years a Commissioner in one of the most important departments of the Government of the City of New York, namely, that of Taxes and Assessments. In his earlier years, he was a member of the Militia, being a Staff Officer of the Third Regiment of Cavalry, National Guard, State of New York.

He was, for a number of years, a member of the B'nai Brith and took an active interest in the Masonic Fraternity. He was affiliated with Adelphi Lodge, No. 23, F. & A. M., of which he was Master for numerous successive terms.

He was actively associated with Jewish communal affairs. For a great many years and up to his death, he was a member of the Congregation Shearith Israel, taking a deep interest in its welfare and serving both as Trustee and President. He took an active interest in the Young Men's Hebrew Association, and served for several years on the Board of Directors and as President of the Association.

Mr. Blumenthal was one of the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary in the City of New York and was the President of its Board of Trustees from its formation until his death. He devoted much of his time and attention during the last years of his life to this institution and was deeply devoted to its interests.

In the numerous and varied offices filled by him, both in civil life and in communal affairs, he always brought to the discharge of his duties the full measure of energy and zeal of which he was capable. He never accepted an office without being ready to perform all the duties connected therewith. He was always faithful and conscientious and whatever he undertook to do he did with all his might.

J. U.

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